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REVIEW

The
Antiquaries · Journal

Three Fragments of Roman Official Statues, from York, Lincoln, and Silchester

By I. A. RICHMOND

OFFICIAL statuary of the Roman period in Britain is now so rare as to be almost wholly unexpected. The few well-known examples have long since been published, and only gleanings remain. But these gleanings are valuable, since they offer a fresh clue to the past existence in official surroundings of important Imperial statues on a wider scale than has hitherto been proved.

(a) An Imperial Head of Constantine from York (pl. 1)

The most noteworthy piece, now by far the most impressive in the group here to be described, is a sandstone head found before 1823 in the Stonegate[1] at York. This medieval street is on the line of the *via praetoria* of the York legionary fortress, and the find-spot thus links the head with an appropriate site for official statues. The head, carved in local stone, is a fine piece which, despite considerable weathering and some damage to the prominent features, has not lost its nobility of poise and demeanour. Its height of 18 in. shows that the statue was about twice life-size. The neck, broad and massive, rises slightly tapering from an immense thorax; the spade-like chin is bold, but not too prominent for the powerful head which surmounts it, and an inclination to fleshiness is suggested by a gentle roll of fat at the junction of neck and chin. The cheeks are clean-shaven and firm,

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[1] The details of discovery appear in *Handbook to the Antiquities in the grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 8th edn., 1891, p. 68, no. 74, as follows: 'A laureated head, 18 inches high, found in excavating for a drain in Stonegate. The first Roman sculpture that the Society acquired.—Mr. James Atkinson, 1823.' Mr. Atkinson was a well-known York surgeon, but it has not proved possible to trace anything further as to the circumstances of the find. It will be noted that 1823 was the date of presentation to the Society, so that there is no exact record of the date of discovery. Best thanks are due to the Keeper, Mr. R. Wagstaffe, for his permission to study and publish this piece: also to Mrs. Chitty for the trouble she has taken in endeavouring to trace local details, and for cleaning the object at my request. Finally, the photographs were taken by Mr. R. P. Wright, to whom particular gratitude is due for the care taken with a difficult subject, and the results achieved.

with high cheek-bones. The mouth is regular and rather small, with firm and almost pouting lips, slightly drooping at the corners. The upper lip is short and rather full. The Grecian nose, now damaged at the tip, had deep and sensitive nostrils and a thin prominent bridge, with just a trace of aquilinity. The eyes are deep-set, and an attempt is made to indicate their power by incising the iris and by cutting two linked drill-holes in the pupils, so as to create shadows and the illusion of depth. The massive brows are slightly arched and saved from heaviness by an upward lift at the outer edge. The ears are set close and low, and are distinguished by particularly fleshy upper lobes. The forehead, not high, is slightly receding and is marked by a tendency to line above the temples; and the hair which frames it, in a close, short fringe, leaves the ears completely free. The fringe emerges from a bold wreath of single oak-leaves, above which the hair seems hardly to have been indicated, as if this part of the statue had stood high out of sight.

The broad yet careful treatment just described conveys a very complete impression of a sensitive and alert young man, between thirty and forty years of age. His air of authority and majesty is explained by the oak-wreath, an Imperial decoration worn in the Roman provinces by Emperor or Caesar alone. The head is thus stamped as an Imperial portrait, and the next questions for discussion are its period and identity.

The period to which the head belongs is to be roughly fixed by the style of hairdressing and the treatment of the neck, chin, and cheeks. As a scrutiny of Imperial statues[1] or coins[2] will show, no first-century or second-century Emperor wore his hair in a short close fringe of this type. The broad and massive treatment of the neck is matched only in the later third century, while the spade-like outline of the chin is also typical of the late third and early fourth century. In sculpture the distinctive form of boring for the pupils of the eyes is also late. Another distinctive feature is the clean-shaven countenance; for in the later third century clipped beards were universal among adult Imperial princes. Clean-shaven faces, in conscious reversion to Augustan fashion, as L'Orange observes,[3] recur first under Constantine. Even at the court of Diocletian and in Constantine's younger days beards had remained the fashion.

There is thus no doubt that the period of the head from York is not earlier than the age of Constantine, but stylistic considerations

[1] Portrait statues of this period in general are exhaustively treated by L'Orange, *Das spätantike Porträt*, Oslo, 1933: cf. also Delbrück, *Spätantike Porträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*, Berlin, 1933.

[2] Cf. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, pls. I–IX, where the transition from beards to beardlessness is well illustrated. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, 12, Taf. I, 19, shows a slightly bearded Constantine.

[3] L'Orange, *op. cit.* 48, succinctly speaks of 'die Konstantinische Haartracht und Bartlosigkeit'.

Yorkshire Museum, York: Portrait-head of Constantine I, from the legionary fortress, York

PLATE II   THE ANTIQUARIES JOURNAL
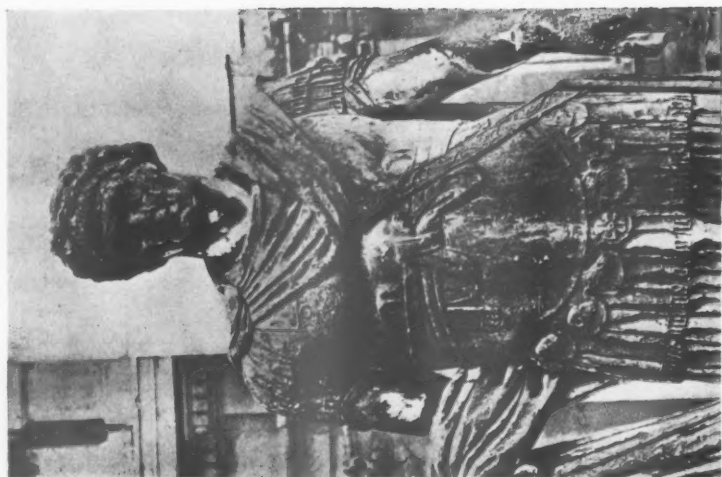
B. Statue of Constantine I, from the *Thermae Constantinianae*, Rome, placed by Pope Innocent X on the Campidoglio

A. Head of Constantine I, from the east wall of the central passage, Arch of Constantine, Rome, A.D. 315

will not allow it to be placed much later. The marked classicism,[1] which controls and refines the emotional content of the piece and reminds us of a Julio-Claudian portrait,[2] is authoritatively recognized as peculiar to the age of Constantine, and is in fact a fleeting reversion to Augustan taste, significantly related to Constantine's earlier political claims[3] and dated to the first quarter of the fourth century. It was then replaced[4] by a more schematic and rounder treatment, which soon deliberately achieved complete suppression of emotion. The York head can thus be seen to have nothing in common with this later development and is, indeed, so manifestly reminiscent of the Augustan style as to fit unequivocally with the earlier Constantinian fashion. These general considerations are further supported by a significant minor point. The wreath which crowns the Imperial head is an oak-wreath, the *corona civica*, which, as L'Orange has also shown,[5] is equally closely connected with the archaistic tendencies of Constantinian portraiture; for it is yet another borrowing from the first century, used in a brief interlude between the radiate crowns or laurel wreaths of the third century and the diadems of the fourth. It is, moreover, confined to portrait statues[6] of Constantine or his immediate heirs.

It is, then, stylistically certain that the head before us belongs either to Constantine or to one of his sons. The age of the personage here portrayed now emerges as an important determining factor in identity. As already noted, the subject treated is a man between thirty and forty years old. It cannot thus be the ill-fated Crispus Caesar; nor does the face resemble[7] that of Constantine II, born in A.D. 312, whose jaws are long and narrow; while Constantius II, born in A.D. 317, had not attained the age here depicted before the fashion in wreaths had

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[1] L'Orange, *op. cit.* 57, 'diese Künstler wollen einen Klassizismus im römischen Sinn und orientieren sich nach der augusteischen Kunst'. Cf. Delbrück (*op. cit.* 12), 'Er ist heroisch schön und gleicht den grossen Herrschern der Vergangenheit, dem Reichsgründer Augustus, etwas auch dem *optimus Princeps* Traianus'.

[2] L'Orange, *op. cit.* 57, speaking of Constantine's portraits, 'besonders der Kopf muss mit augusteischen und früh-Claudischen Porträts verglichen werden'. Cf. Delbrück's comment (*op. cit.* 131) 'Der Kopf ist zum Augustus umgearbeitet'.

[3] Cf. Baynes, *Historia Augusta*, 53 ff., quoting Mommsen. For literary allusions to the type cf. Panegyricus, vi (vii), c. 4, p. 2036, 'in fronte gravitas . . . in oculis et in ore tranquillitas'; or vi(vii), c. 17, p. 214, 'haec veneranda pariter et grata maiestas praestringit simul et invitat adspectus'.

[4] L'Orange, *op. cit.* 62, 'auch im Westen wird jetzt die individuelle Form mehr und mehr auf ein ornamentales, linear vereinfachtes Schema zurückgeführt, mehr und mehr setzt sich jetzt auch hier die ikonenhafte Ausprägung des Ausdrucks durch'.

[5] *Op. cit.* 58, 'aus dieser Verwendung der *corona civica* ersieht man wiederum das archaistische Bestreben des Künstlers'.

[6] *Op. cit.* 59–60, 'besonders zu beachten ist der Kopfschmuck; an sämtlichen fünf Kaiserköpfen findet sich als Kopfschmuck der Eichenkranz, in keinem Fall das Diadem. . . . Neben dem *terminus post quem* um 317 ist uns also ein *terminus ante quem* um 325 gesichert'. The oak wreath does not appear on coins, as Delbrück (*op. cit.* 55) notes.

[7] *Op. cit.*, figs. 155 and 156, where Constantine I and Constantine II are contrasted side by side.

changed from *corona civica* to diadem and that in portraiture to the unemotional style described above, thus narrowing the identification so that it falls by process of exclusion upon Constantine himself.

Early portraits of Constantine, who was thirty-four years old at his accession in A.D. 306, have been selected by L'Orange[1] for detailed study and illustration from the honorary Arch erected to Constantine in Rome and completed by A.D. 315–16, while the early numismatic representations are noted by Delbrück. The coinage has so much in common with the York head as to put the identity beyond question. The firm short mouth, the thin and slightly aquiline nose, deep-set eyes, prominent brows, low forehead, and low-set ears furnish a detailed correspondence in features, while the poise and proportions of the head are mirrored in at least one[2] of L'Orange's examples (pl. IV, A). The closest resemblance in sculpture, however, appears in a mailed statue,[3] taken by Pope Innocent the Tenth from the *Thermae* of Constantine to decorate the Campidoglio (pl. II, B). The particular similarity is probably more than mere coincidence, for the mailed type of Imperial Commander is that which would be most appropriate to York, the seat of Roman military power in northern Britain, where the emperor figured rather as *imperator* than *princeps*. Allowing in each case for weathering, the only material difference between the oak-crowned emperors of York and Rome is that the York head looks younger and less harassed. This difference may well reflect actual fact; for while Constantine was not possessed of Rome before A.D. 312 and did not complete the *Thermae Constantinianae* before about A.D. 315 at earliest, there had been a place for his statue in York from A.D. 306 onwards, when he was acclaimed emperor in that very fortress. There is, too, a further stylistic point which may be adduced in favour of an early date for the York head. In the metropolitan portrait-statues of Constantine the *corona civica* with which he is crowned follows the first-century type of a broad wreath of multiple, thickly clustered leaves, even including acorns. The York wreath is much simpler, its large leaves being strung together in single, widely spaced units. This curiously sparse treatment exactly accords with that given to the laurel leaves on the bronze head[4] of Con-

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[1] *Op. cit.*, figs. 120–8.

[2] In particular, no. 126 closely resembles the York head in proportions and poise. Cf. also the Hermitage Cameo, Leningrad, Delbrück, *op. cit.* 131, fig. 33. The head is later in style, however, than the Vienna bearded head noted by Delbrück (*op. cit.*, Taf. 26, and fig. 29, p. 111), but the resemblance is striking especially in the trimming of the hair in relation to the ears.

[3] *Op. cit.*, fig. 155: for coins see Delbrück, *op. cit.*, Taf. I, 8, 9 of A.D. 315 and in particular p. 37, fig. 14 = Taf. II, 15 of A.D. 312–13 (Ostia mint). This is our pl. IV, A.

[4] For the identification of this head as Constantius I, instead of Maximinus Thrax (cf. Strong, *Scultura Romana*, pl. LXXVI), see Delbrück, *op. cit.* 10. A simple wreath of the same kind as here is figured on the coin of Constantius I, see Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, pl. III, no. 11: also the Arras medallion, *Num. Chron.* ser. V, x, 228, fig. 1.

Lincoln: Foreleg of a horse in bronze, now in possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London (scale, $\frac{1}{3}$)

PLATE IV   THE ANTIQUARIES JOURNAL

A. Coin of Constantine I, of the Ostia mint,
before A.D. 324 (scale, $\frac{3}{1}$)

B. Reading Museum: Bronze lappet from the
mailed skirt of a panoplied statue, from the
tribunal of the *basilica*, Silchester (scale, $\frac{4}{8}$)

stantius I, now at Munich. Thus, if the York head was carved soon after Constantine's accession, the older fashions of his father's day may well have had a continuing influence, no metropolitan canon being yet evolved. In short, the York head is not only a notable piece in itself, but has strong claims to precedence in date among the known portrait heads of the most famous of later Roman emperors.

It will be noted that the statue was about twice life-size and therefore an impressive work, such as might well have graced one of the important buildings of the fortress, perhaps the *principia* itself. If so, the weathering suggests that the statue stood outside, or perhaps in front of, the edifice which it adorned.

(b) The bronze leg of a horse from an equestrian statue, from Lincoln
(pl. III)

On May Day, 1800, Sir Joseph Banks, who was a well-known Lincoln antiquary, submitted[1] to the Society of Antiquaries of London an object described as a 'fragment of a bronze statue of fine workmanship, being part of the leg and hoof of a horse, nearly as large as life, found at Lincoln'. The piece then became the property of the Society and attracted no further attention until Roach Smith mentioned[2] it in 1854 as comparable with fragments of bronze statues recovered from the bed of the river Thames. He did not, however, illustrate the fragment, and, despite the praise which he accorded to its workmanship, the piece has remained in obscurity. It was brought to light by the perseverance of Mr. Philip Corder, who searched for it at the writer's request.

The fragment is 11½ in. long and consists of the rear half of the hoof, the fetlock, and lower leg of a horse, cast in bronze. The leg has been raised and has been broken away from the rest of the body by a heavy blow which cracked and burst the casting and slightly bent the whole leg. The main break came at a point of weakness caused by a flaw in the casting, where the shallow matrix of a rectangular patch still remains, while the actual blow created an ugly open crack and smashed away a second oblong patch covering yet another flaw. The front of the hoof, however, was not broken off by a smashing blow, but was chopped away piecemeal by a small chisel in a series of irregular cuts, of which one side is still visible. Thus, after the leg

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[1] The circumstances of finding quoted in the text are given on the label affixed to the object, and there is a reference to the *Minutes* of the Society, vol. xxviii, 84, not at present available. When normal conditions are restored, it will be of interest to see whether these yield further information. Meanwhile all thanks are due to the Society of Antiquaries for permitting the writer to study it in detail; also for securing the photographs which serve here as illustrations.

[2] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, 1854, pp. 6–7, where the object is described as 'a leg and hoof of a horse, nearly life size, found at Lincoln and preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries'.

had been broken off, it was being chopped up for small pieces of scrap metal, by someone who had only small tools at his disposal, and was therefore engaged in some minor craft. One more point can be deduced from the present aspect of the leg. It is bespattered here and there with blobs of molten metal, showing that it had been involved in a great fire before its use as scrap. These vicissitudes must belong to the days which marked the end of civilization in Roman Lincoln, and this bronze suggests, as vividly as any single object may, the violence with which the Empire fell and the mean fate of its *disjecta membra*.

Ex pede quid? Although so little of the horse to which the leg belonged now remains, there can be no doubt as to the general type of the statue. The leg has been raised, for the hoof is not spread for planting upon the ground, but is poised at almost the maximum stage of withdrawal from the ground in the act of raising the leg. Anatomically the leg appears to be a foreleg[1] rather than a rear leg, and there is no doubt that it was a left leg, for the left-hand side only has received the detailed treatment suggestive of hair round the crown of the hoof, while the blow which smashed the leg has been directed from the left, as would be natural only if this side were the outer side. It may thus be deduced that the horse was represented as walking, with left foreleg raised. The attitude may be compared[2] with that of the right foreleg of the famous equestrian Capitoline statue of Marcus Aurelius and of the Herculaneum bronze chariot-horse, or with the left forelegs of the marble horses of the Nonii Balbi, also from Herculaneum. It differs,[3] for example, from the bronze horse of Vicolo delle Palme, Rome (Trastevere), which is sharply reined in and paws the air with its left foreleg, or, again, from the marble Esquiline horse, whose forefeet are firmly planted on the ground.

The remains of the bronze itself do not allow us to say whether we are dealing with an equestrian statue or with a chariot group. But there is one circumstance which suggests that an equestrian statue is the correct interpretation. As has already been noted, the leg was

[1] The writer has had the opportunity of discussing the anatomy of the leg with Professors Lyle Stewart and Hobson of King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, whose expert knowledge of veterinary and biological science was placed at his disposal. It seems that there is hardly enough of the leg to determine conclusively whether it is from the back or the front of the horse, but both authorities were agreed that the shape of the bones as modelled suggested a foreleg rather than a hind leg, which agrees with the normal classical convention.

[2] The statue of Marcus Aurelius, of which an up-to-date study is highly desirable, is best illustrated in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, no. 369. It will be borne in mind that this figure was originally riding down a naked barbarian, Helbig, *Führer*, i, 408, in the tradition of the military tombstone. For the bronze horse from Herculaneum see E. R. Barker, *Buried Herculaneum*, 81, fig. 9. For the Nonii Balbi, see *op. cit.* 96, fig. 12. Both are at Naples.

[3] For the horse from Vicolo delle Palme, see *Cat. Museo dei Conservatori*, 171–2, pl. 61; the catalogue erroneously describes the raised leg as the 'right' leg. The Esquiline horse is figured *op. cit.*, pl. 58, see also p. 157.

bespattered with molten metal, due to being involved in a fire, which suggests that it was associated with buildings higher than itself. This situation is hardly likely for a chariot group, which was normally placed upon the top of an archway or gate to form the crowning feature, unrivalled by loftier buildings. But for an equestrian statue, normally surrounded and overshadowed by tall public buildings, such a fate was likely enough. There is thus a much better case than might at first sight appear for regarding this fragment as part of an equestrian statue. In the *coloniae* and *municipia* of Italy such statues were common enough: Pompeii,[1] for example, boasted no less than nineteen such bases, grouped about its *forum*, while the *basilica* of Herculaneum[2] had two equestrian statues in its nave. These, however, were towns in touch with greater resources of wealth than Roman Lincoln, where such lavish profusion is hardly to be expected. At least one other possible equestrian statue is, however, known in Britain, represented by the booted and spurred human leg of gilded bronze from Milsington[3] (Roxburghshire), now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh. On the Lincoln example there is no trace whatever of gilding.

(c) A lappet from the mailed skirt of a bronze statue in armour, found in the basilica of Silchester

The object represented in the accompanying illustration (pl. IV, B) was found[4] in 1890 during the excavation of the north apse of the *basilica* at Silchester. It is a strong strip of cast metal, with semicircular end and raised border, and the end is decorated with a vigorously moulded lion-head, springing from two spiral plant-scrolls. No certain explanation of its purpose was offered at the time of discovery, though it was conjectured[5] that it might have served as part of a chair or official seat, obviously with lion-headed pendant decoration in mind. Although, however, the strip has been violently broken off from some larger object sufficiently strong to stand the strain of the wrench involved in detaching a tongue of metal, it is difficult to believe that the object in question was a chair. Classical bronze chairs[6] are well understood, and their ornamentation does not include such tongues or lappets.

There is, however, one class of bronze object of which lappets of

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[1] For the Pompeii statues see Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, its life and art*, 44, plan ii.

[2] For the Herculaneum statues see Barker, *Buried Herculaneum*, 51.

[3] Milsington leg, *J.R.S.* xvi, 7 sqq.; for the hole for a spur, see p. 8.

[4] *Archaeologia*, liii, 558. I am much indebted to Mr. W. Smallcombe, curator of Reading Museum, for permission to study this object and for the photograph used in illustration, taken after the bronze had been specially cleaned.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] Richter, *Ancient Furniture, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, 119–29, deals with thrones, stools, and chairs, without figuring any similar ornament.

this kind form an indispensable and prominent part. These are bronze statues in panoply,[1] whose skirts in their most ornamental form were formed of overlapping strips of metal for the purpose of turning a sweeping blow against the thighs. The skirts are fastened below the cover of the moulded cuirass fitted to the main trunk of the body and tend, broadly speaking, to take three forms. During the first century the highly decorated moulded cuirass, well exemplified by the famous statue of Augustus from Prima Porta,[2] is offset by an elaborate skirt composed of two or even three rows of overlapping metal lappets. The longer lappets are hinged, as shown on the Capitoline Mars Ultor[3] or the torsi[4] clad in *paludamenta* from Leningrad and Naples, or like an actual lappet[5] from Delphi. But the shorter lappets, which occur medially below the curved base of the cuirass protecting the abdomen, are unhinged, though always furnished with the raised border to give them strength and often decorated with animal heads springing from scrolls, the lion being a favourite convention. In the second and third centuries the convention changed. The bronze skirt must have been both heavy and impeding: its hinged lappets are themselves an awkward but revealing concession to the need for freer movement. The lower lappets therefore became longer tasselled leather appendages, while the upper rows were shortened and broadened so as to become a double-scalloped lower edging of the cuirass, permitting easier movement. This fashion appears on the panoplied figures[6] of the Hadrianic age onwards. By the fourth century, however, still further simplification had resulted in the upper lappets becoming a single row, serving as little more than a decorative edging to the cuirass, which has itself shed the elaborate moulded figures of the earlier periods. This tendency is well illustrated by the Rome figures[7] of Constantine I and Constantine II, now in the Piazza del Campidoglio, or the famous grim statue[8] of a late-Roman emperor at Barletta.

It is thus not difficult now to place the Silchester fragment in its ancient context. We can say that it belongs to the upper row of lappets on a mailed skirt of the earliest type, occupying a medial position on the figure. The figure was also a large one, for the lappet will not fit an ordinary human figure, but one not less than twice that size.

[1] For the general question of panoplied statues see Hekler, *Jahreshefte des oest. arch. Inst.*, 1919, 190 sqq.

[2] Delbrück, *Bildnisse römischer Kaiser*, pl. 1.

[3] Hekler, *op. cit.* 191, fig. 119; cf. *Cat. Mus. Capitolino*, 39, no. 40, pl. 7.

[4] Hekler, *op. cit.*

[5] Hekler, *op. cit.* 208, fig. 136.

[6] Hekler, *op. cit.*

[7] L'Orange, *Das spätantike Porträt*, figs. 155, 156.

[8] *Antike Denkmäler*, iii, pl. 20. The identification as Valentinian I has been disputed by Delbrück, *op. cit.* 219–26, pl. 116, who would choose Marcianus as the subject, and not without likelihood.

Further, the style suggests a pre-Hadrianic piece. It will be noted that the fragment came from an apse of the *basilica*. If the statue stood there, little doubt can exist as to its identity, for only the emperor is likely to have occupied such a position. The superhuman size also tells in favour of the emperor, for statues of governors or generals, like that of Paulinus[1] from Caerwent, whose surviving base gives us the human scale, tend to follow less ambitious lines. If we had the Silchester statue, it would thus probably give us the likeness of the emperor whose auspices favoured the first erection of the town's most important civic building; and it is therefore the more significant that the style of the work should be pre-Hadrianic.

[1] Caerwent, *Archaeologia*, lix, 120. The base measures 40 in. × 22 in. × 21 in., not as stated in *E.E.* ix, 1012, quite different measurements. It is thus suitable in proportion to carry a life-size statue.

Exeter Cathedral: A Conjectural Restoration of the Fourteenth-Century Altar-Screen

By Percy Morris

PART II [1]

The Sanctuary and its Floor Levels, 1302–1939

Before attempting a conjectural restoration of the first altar-screen it was necessary to try and recapture the plan of the fourteenth-century sanctuary and the positions of the two lateral altars which are known to have existed on the north and south sides of the high altar, also to trace the changes of floor level which have taken place during the intervening centuries.

Since Stapledon's day the quire has been repaved on several occasions: the first renewal may have taken place about 1392–3, when the Fabric Roll shows that payments were made for 'labor circa pavimentum chori'.[2] We have found no record of any change of level at this time, and it is unlikely that any took place; but there is little doubt that the tiling and step discovered on the south side of the sanctuary, when some of Scott's paving was removed recently (1939), belong to this date. Those found on the north side were probably repairs made with old materials after some disturbance of the floor. The undisturbed paving consisted of alternate dark green and buff glazed tiles laid diagonally (pl. v, a): most of the buff glazing had worn away, leaving the red of the underlying tile exposed. The step, which was apparently Thorverton or Posbury stone, was 16½ in. wide on tread. The earlier steps, as will be shown later, were Ham Hill stone. Freeman's assumption that the quire was paved with marble, in 1392, is unjustified by the evidence he cites: 'In rendic (*sic*) Henr. Blackborne per senesc. scaccarii pro choro ecclesiae 597 ped. marmor.'[3] Paving is not mentioned here, and other work was going on in the quire at the time.

The next reference we have found is an entry in the D. and C. Act Book, 14th December 1762: 'They ordered that the Quire be now paved according to the Articles of Agreement made between Mr. William Williams Junr. on behalf of the Dean and Chapter and James Meffen of Stonehouse Mason and that Mr. Williams be indemynified by the said Dean and Chapter on account of the said Articles.' 'They ordered that a shed be erected in the North Court for sawing the stone and another for keeping the Coal Ashes that are to be abt New paving the Quire.'[4] Parts of Meffin's paving, called by some writers 'black

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[1] Part I appeared in the *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. xxiii, 122–47.
[2] F.R. (O., p. 387).
[3] *History of Exeter Cathedral*, pp. 63, 83.   [4] *Op. cit.* (3569), p. 604.

and white marble', can still be seen in what was the sacristy behind the high altar (p. 15).

Again, in the account for Kendall's altar-screen there is a charge for 'taking up and laying at 4 inches lower surface the marble floor'.

During the restoration of the cathedral by Sir Gilbert Scott (1871–6) the quire was again repaved[1] and the levels were altered.

Writing in 1836 Britton stated that 'the foundation of Stapledon's screen, as ascertained in 1818, was partly raised on a pavement of glazed tiles, about six inches under the present marble floor'.[2] The screen being built *on* the pavement shows that the latter must have been part of the original floor; and 'the present marble floor' obviously refers to the sanctuary floor *after* Kendall had lowered it 4 in. It follows, therefore, that Stapledon's floor was about 10 in. lower than Meffin's. In pl. VI, *a*, Meffin's paving can be seen at the base of the sedilia, and the top of the old step, A (pl. V, *b*), seems to have been coincident with the floor surface.[3] The chamfer on the edge of the step may explain an item in the account for Kendall's altar-screen—'additional work at the base of the stalls': the other end of the step can still be seen at the east end of the sedilia. The tread of this step is the same height above the present paving as the lower member of the plinth of Stapledon's tomb opposite (pl. VII, i, E), which provides a datum line upon which to base a test. Pl. VII, i, shows a longitudinal section through the sanctuary and presbytery: the level of the plinth member just referred to was coincident with Meffin's paving level. Kendall's floor line is shown 4 in. below this, and Stapledon's 6 in. lower still. Scott's paving line was 2 in. below Kendall's. The step and paving recently discovered are marked A, and lie between the arrow-heads: if the slope of this paving is produced, it will be found to coincide, at its eastern extremity, with the level of Stapledon's floor, and to be within ½ in. of our estimate of this level (Pt. I, p. 126). Further, when Scott's sanctuary paving was removed recently (1939), an old mortar bed was found 5½ in. under it on which earlier paving had no doubt been laid. Allowing 1¼ in. for the thickness of the old tiles and their bedding, the levels would have coincided, within ¼ in., with that of Stapledon's paving. Thus documentary and topographical evidence and our estimate virtually agree.

The old tiling rises 1 in. in 20 in. from west to east, and the step 1 in. in 16½ in.; the latter may have sunk slightly, as the presbytery step has sunk although the surfaces on either side of the joints remain

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[1] Sir Gilbert Scott's Report to the Dean and Chapter, p. 2.

[2] *History of the Cathedral Church of Exeter*, pp. 90–1; also *The Cathedral Church of Exeter*, Hewett, p. 11.

[3] Unexpected confirmation of Meffin's floor-level has come to light since this was written. An album of Kendall's drawings has recently been added to the Cathedral Library: in it is a drawing of the sedilia, dated 1824, which shows this step, marked 'original floor'. By 'original' Kendall meant the floor level as he found it before making his alteration.

flush. A hole made by the cathedral mason at D (pl. VII, i) showed that
the step was 6½ in. thick, and at this depth the mortar bed of the old
tiling still existed. Whether the sanctuary paving actually sloped, as
shown in Section i, cannot now be determined, but the nave paving
of Edward the Confessor's eleventh-century church at Westminster
rose 1 in. in 4 ft. from west to east;[1] and at St. David's Cathedral the
rise in the nave floor is 'so considerable that the incline is quite per-
ceptible'.[2] Whether sloping or flat, however, it would not affect the
result, for if a step were substituted for the slope it would not alter
the relative levels (pl. VII, ii).

The Fabric Roll for 1301–2 records an item of '300 stones from
Hamedon [Ham Hill] cum carragio for the steps before the high altar
54s. 4d.';[3] and in 1302–3, 6s. 8d. was paid for piece-work in laying
three steps before the high altar and paving the space on either side:
'in iij gradibus ante summum altare et aeram [aream] ex utraque parte
paviand ad tascum vjs. viijd.'[4] 'Three steps before the high altar'
might consistently be interpreted as the presbytery step and two steps
in the sanctuary; or as three steps in the sanctuary. The rise from the
north quire aisle to Stapledon's sanctuary level was 3 ft. and ½ in.[5] and
would have required five steps, each virtually 6 in. rise, if the paving
was sloped; or six of the same rise if the arrangement shown on the
alternative section was adopted. Two steps of this rise would equal
within a fraction of an inch the height of the stone bench in the aisle
(pl. VI, b, A). This result can scarcely be mere coincidence, and tends
to show that the quire paving in the fourteenth century was level with
the top of the bench, and that the original levels were adhered to if the
paving was relaid in 1392. Topographically, this seems far more
probable than the present level, pl. VI, where the marble step abuts
against the oak door-jamb, and the back of the screen sill is buried in
the floor—expedients which are not architecturally sound. The joint
at B, where the jamb is scarfed, must not be regarded as supporting
our conclusion about the floor level, for the other jambs are scarfed
at different heights.

The fourteenth-century levels shown on the sections (pl. VII) are
based on the evidence we have reviewed; except at A, they are con-
jectural, but the probability of material error is small. The step

[1] 'Recent Discoveries in the Nave of Westminster Abbey', Tanner and Clapham,
Archaeologia, lxxxiii.

[2] *The Cathedrals of England and Wales*, Bumpus, p. 265.

[3] F.R. (O., p. 379).

[4] F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.). The word *aeram* is very indistinct in the roll, and is probably
intended for *aream*. Cf. Bishop Brewer's grant of land for building the chapter house
(*c.* 1225)—'aream competentem ad capitulum faciendum'. We have found several
instances of the transposition of the *e* in the two words.

[5] This rise represents the sum of the risers of the steps; the actual rise may have been
rather more as the paving is not level: e.g. the rise from the south aisle is 2 in. less, and to
this extent the paving is 'in winding', as is evident where it is intercepted by the pier bases.

PLATE V

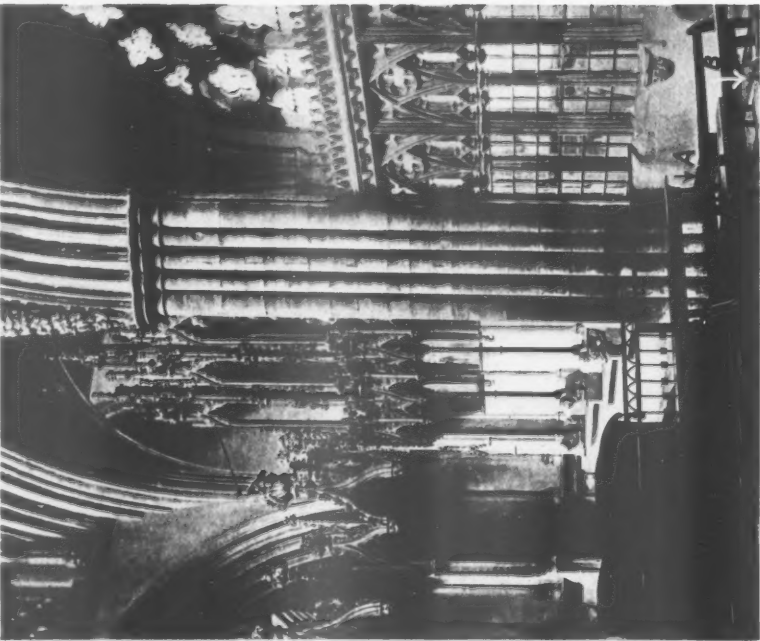*a.* Step and tiling found in 1939
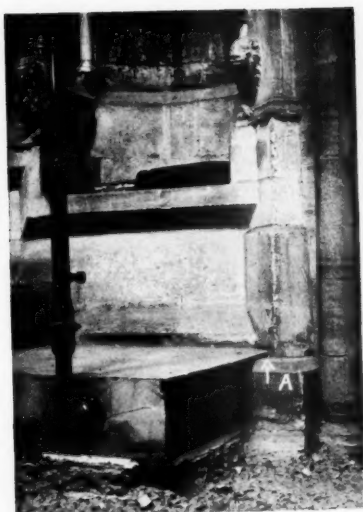
b. Old step of Sedilia

c. Remains of skirting east of
Bp. Marshall's Tomb

d. Remains of stepped skirting on
Bp. Lacey's Tomb

Exeter Cathedral

PLATE VI   THE ANTIQUARIES JOURNAL

a. Pre-restoration photograph showing stepped painted skirting on parclose screen

b. Stone bench in north quire aisle and present steps to quire

Exeter Cathedral

recently found is shown in its correct position, but the position of the other steps is unknown; some guidance, however, is given by their relation to the platforms for the lateral altars referred to later on.

The rise from the north aisle to Meffin's sanctuary level was 3 ft. 10½ in., and Carter's plan (1797) shows seven steps—two from the aisle, one at the presbytery, and four at the sanctuary. One of the steps at the entrance to the quire from the aisle can be seen in a pre-restoration photograph, in front of the old pulpit steps; and, from its apparent height above the stone bench, it looks as though Meffin did not remove the earlier tiling, but laid his paving *on* it. Jones's *Ichnography* (1757) shows four steps in the sanctuary, in the same position as those on Carter's plan. When Meffin relaid the paving and altered the levels, the steps must also have been altered: why, then, do four steps appear on Jones's plan made five years earlier than the alterations? It may have been that repaving was then being considered and his plan may have shown the suggested rearrangement, afterwards carried out.[1]

The pre-restoration photograph (pl. vi, *a*) shows a painted black skirting, marked A, on the parclose screen; and to the left of it, under the back rail of a bench, the riser of a step can be seen.[2] Another skirting, at a lower level, is visible at B below the piscina. On the north side of the quire the marks of a skirting can still be clearly seen on Bishop Marshall's tomb (they do not show in the photograph) and on the screen wall to the right of it (pl. v, *c*, A)[3]. On Bishop Lacey's tomb the marks of a stepped skirting are visible (pl. v, *d*, A), and the stepping is in line with the riser of the first sanctuary step as shown on Carter's plan. The benches were placed very near the walls, and the skirtings were probably a precaution against boot-marks; but they afford a clue to the eighteenth-century levels shown on the sections.

The plan of the cathedral in Kendall's time, published in Britton's book,[4] does not show the sanctuary steps, but an old photograph shows that there were three of them. The lowering of the floor 4 in. did away with the fourth step, and the difference of 2 in. between the new level thus formed and Meffin's third step was disposed of by sloping the paving as dotted on the section (pl. vii, i). Kendall's screen was some feet east of Stapledon's and Helyer's, and the rise involved would have been almost imperceptible.

We now come to the existing floor-levels: Scott wrote in his *Recollections*:[5] 'The pavement of the fifteenth century was found, in

[1] The gravestones in the quire, the positions of which are shown on Jones's *Ichnography*, were moved when the repaving took place—'That the old Grave Stones that were taken up in the Choir be laid down in the Body & Iles of the Church at such places as may want repair'. (Orders about Repairing the Church etc. from the 28th April 1763: *D. and C. Records, Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, p. 42.)

[2] The riser appears to have been tangential to the western face of the pier, and farther west than shown on Carter's plan.

[3] Exposure to weather since the air raid has now obliterated these marks on Marshall's tomb. [4] *History of the Cathedral Church, Exeter*, pl. i. [5] *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

part, beneath the modern paving and has been useful in determining levels; although I am inclined to think we are a step too low as regards the altar platform.' On the contrary, instead of being too low, Scott's paving level, as we have shown, is still some inches higher than Stapledon's. For the greater part he seems to have followed Meffin's levels; but the finish of his paving round the pier bases and the tomb of Bishop Bradbridge (1570/1–1578), pl. VII, B and C, and the uneven rise of his steps, varying from 8½ in. to 6 in., show the difficulties into which this led him. The old builders had carefully considered these problems and successfully overcome them; in particular, they left the bases of the piers exposed, and their treatment of the steps at the entrances from the aisles was architectural. Further, the steps were of even rise throughout. Bradbridge's tomb was not there in the fourteenth century.

Before leaving this subject there are two additional references which should be mentioned: in the *Report of the Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, 1871,[1] it is stated that 'the removal of the modern paving has led to the discovery of the old altar footpace and steps and an old tile pavement'. The tile pavement must have been that recently found, *above* which Scott laid his new tiling; but why was he in doubt about the foot-pace if it and the old steps were found?

The second reference occurs in the *Devon Evening Express*, 7th October 1872, when Archdeacon Freeman, speaking of the sanctuary steps, is reported to have said: 'Part of the original steps, placed there in 1307 [*sic*] had been allowed to remain.' We have failed to find any trace of them; but pieces of Ham Hill and Caen stone were embedded in the concrete on which Scott's paving was laid. One of the pieces of Caen stone was dressed and chamfered—an old stone re-used—it was mortised, and its position showed that it had been used for fixing a standard of Kendall's altar-rails. It was bedded in Portland cement mortar, and therefore could not have been fixed earlier than the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

We have mentioned lateral altars on either side of the high altar; that on the north side was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, that on the south to St. Stephen, as we learn from the 1327 inventory, where they are grouped with the high altar. Thus we read of two reliquaries (*filatoria*) for the high altar, and two super-frontals[2] for the altars of the martyrs St. Thomas and St. Stephen. In the 1506 inventory they are similarly grouped in some of the entries, but are merely referred to as 'collateral altars', no dedications being mentioned.[3]

[1] Vol. ii, pt. iii, second series, p. 315.

[2] '2 filatoria pro summo altari, et 2 frontella de rubea samitica picta leopardis, pro altaribus Sanctorum Thome et Stephani Martirum' (*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 317).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 330 *et passim*.

From Grandisson's *Ordinale Kalendar*, 19th April, we learn that St. Alphege's obit was observed 'at his altar in the choir' (*propter suum altare in choro*), which the *Ordinale* explains was 'at the altar of St. Thomas, for in the church of Exeter it is dedicated also to the honour of St. Alphege' (*quod in ecclesia Exoniensi dedicatur eciam in honore sancti Alphegi*).[1] St. Alphege died in 1012, and both he and Thomas Becket, it will be noted, were archbishops. All three dedications were in honour of martyrs. Oliver and Walcott both give the dedication of the south altar as St. Stephen and St. John, but neither gives his authority for a dual dedication nor can we find any.[2]

In pl. v, *a*, the old step and tiling are seen to end abruptly at the white dotted line; and a similar ending could be traced on the north side: in both cases this occurred 7 ft. 3 in. from the adjacent parclose screen. It is probable that the platforms on which the lateral altars stood followed these lines, and that the entry in the Fabric Roll, quoted on page 12, of laying three steps and paving 'the space on either side' refers to them. Bradbridge's tomb occupies part of the site of the northern platform, and this spot may have been chosen for it because a space had been left there when the side altar was removed. The plinth of the tomb is Ham Hill stone, and may have been adapted from material used for the platform. The top member of the plinth is level with the step at A (pl. vii), and at the time the tomb was built the whole height of the plinth west of the riser of the step would have been visible.

Old documents frequently refer to the sacristy in rear of the high altar as 'the upper vestry', and an entry in the Fabric Roll (1302–3) records payment for paving a vestry:[3] as the date of the entry was six weeks after the sanctuary steps were fixed, and paving was being laid in the sanctuary at the time, it no doubt refers to the sacristy in question. In the 1506 inventory there is a list of vestments kept *in superiori vestiario*,[4] to distinguish it from those on the south sides of the quire and the Lady chapel: the last-mentioned vestry has now been removed and the former rebuilt.[5] Oliver states that the upper vestry was probably removed 'after the spoliation of the church in the reign of King Edward VI',[6] but it is shown in Jones's *Ichnography* (1757) and on Carter's plan (1797); and Jenkins refers to it as still existing in 1806.[7] The dimensions, scaled from Carter's plan, are about 40 ft. in length by 7 ft. in width. The sacristy was enclosed by walls about 9 ft. high, surmounted by a vine-leaf cresting (Pt. I, p. 129).

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[1] *Op. cit.*, ed. J. N. Dalton (Bradshaw Society), vol i, p. 221. Reference kindly given by Prebendary Bishop.
[2] *Lives of the Bishops (ut supra)*, p. 210; *Memorials of Exeter*, Walcott, p. 27.
[3] 'et j homine pavienti vesteriam' (F.R., W. H. St. J. H.).
[4] *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 341.
[5] It was destroyed in the air raid, 4 May 1942.
[6] *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Oliver, p. 188.   [7] *History of Exeter*, p. 291.

1
14 CENTURY (CONJECTURAL)
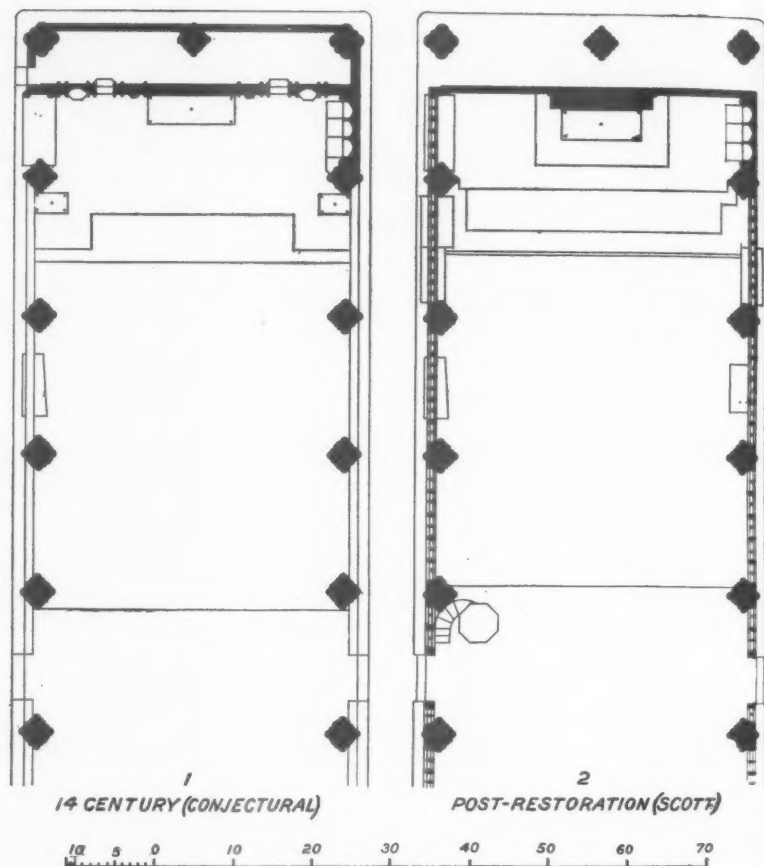
2
POST-RESTORATION (SCOTT)

FIG. I

Access to it was obtained by doors on either side of the high altar, as we learn from the Altar Roll for 1323–4, which mentions a charge for fitting them with locks and bolts,[1] and by entries in the 1393 and 1396 Fabric Rolls, of 'keys for doors on north and south of the altar'.[2] These doors were ordered to be walled up in 1638 when Archdeacon Helyar's screen was erected.[3] In 1422–3 a third door was made from the north quire aisle (Pt. I, p. 129), and in the same year the Fabric Roll mentions '100 nails bought for the great new chest in the vestry near the high altar. For a cupboard for keeping the vestments and other necessaries in the vestiary near the high altar.'[4]

[1] F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).
[2] *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, pp. 59, 60.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 61.   [4] F.R. (O., p. 390).

The floor line of this vestry was level with the tops of the stone benches in the aisles, and there must have been steps descending to it from the sanctuary. The space then enclosed is now the raised platform in rear of the altar;[1] and the present paving is a survival of Meffin's paving—alternate large squares of stone and small squares of black limestone. The paving has at some time been polished; hence its description by Jenkins and others as black and white marble.

The plan (fig. 1) is an attempt to reconstruct the fourteenth-century plan from the evidence we have reviewed; on the south side of the sanctuary there is a piscina of contemporary date (pl. VI, a), and its position suggests that the lateral altars may have been placed as shown. This arrangement is similar to that of the side altars shown on Professor Willis's conjectural plan of the twelfth-century church at Canterbury,[2] where the altar on the north side of the sanctuary was also dedicated to St. Alphege. The second plan in this plate shows the sanctuary as rearranged by Scott.

THE FABRIC ROLLS

In medieval days building operations relating to cathedrals and other important buildings were recorded in Fabric Rolls. These rolls, as we have mentioned, provide valuable information about customs and dates; about the materials purchased—their source of origin and cost—and of the workmen employed—their names, grading, and wages. At Exeter the rolls were kept by the clerk of the work (*custos operis*), who was generally one of the vicars choral: the master mason audited the accounts, and in this respect the practice here differed somewhat from that elsewhere, but in the main the principle involved was much the same.

Funds for the building were derived from many sources: Stapledon himself was a munificent donor, contributing about £124 annually— equivalent probably to rather more than £3,000 at pre-1914 value.[3] Dignitaries of the cathedral also made yearly donations: the Dean, £6. 7s. 4d.; the Precentor, £3. 0s. 0d.; the Chancellor, 38 *soldi*; the Treasurer, 64 *soldi*. Canons contributed half the amount of their prebends (i.e. 'their quotidians and not the produce arising from the farms'); and all clergy throughout the diocese were taxed by the bishop to this end.[4] Several of the religious houses of the diocese granted participation in their prayers to donors to the Fabric Fund,[5] and we are told that dispensations and licences granted by Stapledon, almost without exception, ended with the words 'et dabit ad fabricam j mar-

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[1] This was written before the space was enclosed in 1938–9.

[2] *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, Stanley, p. 86.

[3] *Episcopal Registers* (ed. H.-R.), Stapledon, pref., p. xvi and f.n.

[4] 'Some Remarks on the Original Foundation and Construction of the present Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1754.' Printed in Carter's *Exeter Cathedral*, p. 7.

[5] *Ibid.*

cam' or some such amount. 'Occasionally, a gratuitous offering is acknowledged, and now and then the "Nova Tabula" and "the Tablatura" are specially mentioned.'[1] Offerings at the pyxes at 'St. Peter's old image', and Bishop Berkley's tomb were also devoted to the fund.[2]

In addition to these sources of revenue there was a general levy throughout the diocese, under an ordinance of Bishop Marshall (1194–1206), whereby all residents in the diocese were enjoined to 'testify to the honour and dignity of the cathedral by their offerings at Pentecost'. The ordinance was confirmed by Bishops Brewer (1224–44) and Grandisson (26th May 1335).[3] Henry VIII, in 1535, also confirmed the custom by letters patent: those 'keeping house or lodging for the time in the city and diocese of Exeter and those dwelling within the same' being liable to contribute one farthing yearly towards the 'support of the architecture [sic] of the cathedral' (ad usum fabrice ecclesie Cathedralis).[4] The money was to be collected by personal application and at parish churches.[5]

In 1388 an order was given that young pigeons (pulli columbini), when caught, were to be 'sold and the profit applied to the use of the fabric and no other'.[6]

The period of greatest activity during the building of the altar-screen seems to have been from 1316 to 1322, when separate Altar Rolls were kept; but that for 1317–18 is missing. There may have been other rolls, for between 1313–14 and 1315–16, and for 1322–3, there are no rolls of any kind surviving. Work on the screen continued after the last-mentioned date, but the expenditure is entered in the ordinary Fabric Rolls.

The name of John of Schyrford appears in the rolls as 'custos operis . . . de Tablature majoris Altaris'; and concurrently he supervised the work going on in other parts of the cathedral. His salary was 12s. 6d. a quarter, or about £60 a year on the basis of Hingeston-Randolph's pre-1914 estimate; but being a vicar choral he no doubt received a stipend for that office. A note in the Chapter Act Book, of a gratuity of one penny to the custos operis in respect of each obit commemorated in the cathedral,[7] and of sixpence for Dean Braylegh's obit,[8] suggests that there were other emoluments attached to the office.

[1] Episcopal Registers (ed. H.-R.), Stapledon, pref., p. xvi and f.n. 2.

[2] Abstract Chapter Acts, Reynolds, pp. 66, 82.

[3] Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, Oliver, pp. 182–3 and f.n.

[4] Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, vol. xiii, pt. ii, p. 405; Oliver, ut supra, f.n., p. 182.

[5] The levy is sometimes referred to as 'Peter's pence'; but this seems to be a confusion with a tax of a silver penny per hearth, known as 'Peter's pence' or 'Roman scot', first levied in England by the Pope in the 8th or 9th century, and abolished by Henry in 1534 (Harmsworth's Encyclopaedia).

[6] D. and C. Records, Hist. MSS. Com. Report, p. 38.

[7] Abstract Chapter Acts (ed. Reynolds), p. 82.   [8] F.R. 1371–2 (W. H. St. J. H.).

The master mason, or as he was called 'master of the work' (*magister operis*), was Thomas de Wittenaye. He received 33*s*. 4*d*. a quarter, or about £160 a year on the same basis, and the use of a house in the Close; his duties also were not confined to the screen alone. Of other masons engaged upon the work there were two grades—the *cementarii*, or what would now be called banker masons, and *lathomi*, or walling masons and setters of stone. After 1396 these designations were reversed, the *lathomi* becoming the more important grade, being divided into two classes—*lathomos vocatos ffremaceons* (workers in freestone or banker masons) and *lathomos vocatos ligiers* (stone setters): the *cementarii* became the walling masons.[1]

In the earlier period the wages of the *cementarii* ranged from 2*s*. 3*d*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. a week, and the *lathomi* received 2*s*. 0*d*. a week. Most of them were known by their Christian names and places of origin: thus we find John de Bannabir stone carver, and his son Ada [Adam], J. and Robert Payn, Robert de la Boxe (also called 'at a Boxe'), T. and R. Attebore (probably the same as 'at a Boxe'), Hugh of Dorset, Simon Snelle (Suelle?), Philip de Wypp., R. Balys, J. de Parco, and J. Chamberlye. Two carpenters were employed: Robert de Gamelton, who with William of Membury made the bishop's throne, and N. Frensch: their wages are not stated in the transcript.

Stone for the screen was brought from Beer, near Lyme Regis, and Caen, in Normandy; Burlegh (Barley) is also mentioned as another source of supply. Some of the stone is referred to as 'great stones' intended no doubt to be sawn and worked in Exeter—what would now be called 'block stone', as distinct from 'gobetti' (smaller pieces of stone) and dressed stone, such as the asseylars (ashlars) and 'Koynges', also mentioned. There are entries of the wages of quarrymen employed at Beer, and of carters for hauling stone from the quarries 'to the sea', for sea-borne transport was used to bring the stone to Topsham, whence it was carried by road to Exeter. This road carriage was probably done by ox carts—the rolls record the purchase of such a cart—but there is evidence that horses were used as well. Every Whitsuntide it was the custom to overhaul and repair the carts and harness, the masons meanwhile taking a week's holiday.[2]

The use of bitumen, which cost 1*d*. a pound, for jointing the sedilia, instead of the usual lime putty, has already been mentioned (Pt. I, p. 136). The practice was a very old one: Vitruvius mentions an asphaltic pool containing floating bitumen, 'with which, and with bricks of baked earth, Semiramis built the wall round Babylon'.[3] Another entry relating to masonry was the purchase of boards *ad moldas*, evidently for making templates for the masons to work to.

Unfortunately there is little information to be gleaned from the

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, Gwilt, bk. i, p. 127 (ed. 1881).
[2] *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, Bishop and Prideaux, p. ii.
[3] *Op. cit.* (ed. Gwilt), p. 187.

Fabric Rolls about the design of the altar-screen: the men were employed for the most part at fixed wages rather than on piece work (*ad tascum*), and individual items are therefore not specified. An entry in the 1318–19 roll, 'iij vouter portant tabernant', suggests that there was vaulted canopy work, but whether for the screen or for the sedilia, which has three canopies, is not stated.

Two chains for the top of the tabula (*in duabus cathenis ad summum altare*) were bought in 1319–20; and several iron bars *ad magnum altare* and *pro tabernaculis* in 1316–17: these no doubt were intended to give support to the screen (Pt. I, p. 130). Three stones which have been inserted under the east window of the quire suggest that there may also have been bars placed at right angles to the screen for this purpose. It is equally possible, however, that the stones may mark the positions of the bars which braced Helyer's screen.[1]

Images for the screen are mentioned in the roll for 1320–1 and the following year—fifty-four in all—but the prices paid for them appear to be very small, ranging from 1s. 8d. to 1s. 2d. each. It may have been that these payments were additional to the weekly wage or represented the cost of painting only; otherwise, the payment for carving the images for the bishop's throne, 5s. 4d. each, seems disproportionate. On the other hand, 5s. 0d. each was paid for carving the bosses of the quire vaulting (1303–4), and 1s. 2d. each for painting them (1316–17); the latter sum being more comparable with the charges for the screen images. An entry in the roll for 1350, the year following the Black Death, for cleaning *omnes ymagines supra magnum altare* leaves little doubt that the images were sculptured.

In 1316–17 preparations were made for hanging the Lenten veil, iron rings and two iron pulleys with copper wheels (*trendelle*) being provided; and in 1318–19 two iron rods were made for suspending it. The pulleys are still in position, that on the south side of the sanctuary is at string-course level; that on the north at the level of the caps of the shafts of the triforium arcade. A mortise in the wall, slightly to the west of the corresponding cap on the south side, suggests the position of an eye for the vertical cord.

In 1324–5 'Master John the Goldsmith' was paid £5. 18s. 0d. for making the silver tabula over the high altar (Pt. I, p. 142), a penny being deducted from his account, for arrears of rent of a house in Coney Street (coniestrate), 'because nobody lives in it nor can distrain upon it' (*quia nemo inhabitat ne potest distring.*).[2]

In 1319–20 'one large tabula' and one of the doors were primed, the latter with white lead, but no painters' wages are entered in this year. In 1320, 2 ells of woven linen were purchased for the painters— probably for straining paint—and the same quantity 'for cleaning up the colours'. Two workmen were engaged in grinding colours, and

[1] Trewman's *Exeter Flying Post*, 4th February 1819.
[2] F.R. (W. H. St. J. H.).

the following year a marble stone was bought for this purpose (*petra marmorea pro coloribus molandis*). In 1320–1 large quantities of painting materials were purchased: white lead (*blancum plumbum*) came in sacks (*in saccis*) from London and Winchester, and cost 18s. 0d. for 100 pounds. The carriage (*caracio*) of 125 lb. of red (*roge*) and white lead from Winchester, with other materials, came to 2s. 6d. Oil for the paint was also ordered ('in xvj logeris [gallons] olei pro pictura xxjs. vjd.'). Colours varied considerably in price—vermilion (*vermij-loun*) from 8d. to 10d. a lb.; verdigris from 7d. to 8d.; red ochre (*cinople*) cost 4s. 9d. for 3 quarternons (¾ cwt.). Azure was expensive, being priced at 3s. 6d. a lb. in one entry, and at the rate of 6s. 0d. a lb. in another—possibly a slip in the transcript. *Ynde bandas* (?) cost 1s. 6d. a lb.; lamp black (*blampin*) 18s. 0d. for 100 lb.; 5 pounds of white varnish (*album Werniz*) cost 5s. 9d.

Gold leaf was lavishly used, 14,200 leaves being purchased for the screen alone, at a cost of £27. 14s. 8d.—or about £660 at pre-1914 value. There were also charges for silver—'ciij argenti xlviijs.': the price charged, as compared with gold leaf which cost from 3s. 10d. to 3s. 11d. a hundred leaves, is difficult to explain. It may have been sheet metal such as would have been required for the silver-gilt crowns mentioned in the 1506 inventory—a charge for 'sheets of metal for the lilies' occurs in the 1321–2 roll.

Painters were employed in 1321–2, showing that the work had reached an advanced stage: special painting was paid at a rate comparable with that of masons—'Peter', who was engaged for three weeks only, received 3s. 0d. a week; another painter, entered as 'R', was paid 2s. 6d. But the average wage of the craft was lower: Nicholas, 'pictor et ymaginator', received 1s. 8d., J. Lena 1s. 6d., Benedict 1s. 1d., and two colour grinders 1s. 0d. a week each.

The Sidmouth Bronze: Legionary Standard or Tripod?

By M. V. TAYLOR

THE well-known bronze figure of a centaur and rider (pl. VIII) now in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter was found on the beach at the foot of the cliffs (near two geological faults) about 200 yards east of the little river Sid by some fishermen in 1840.[1]

The only other recorded discoveries of Roman objects at Sidmouth consist of a few coins on the sea beach—a 'first brass' of Vespasian, a Commodus of A.D. 183, and a small brass of Constantine I (as well as a Bactrian copper)—and others in Sidmouth or the neighbourhood,[2] while pottery of the first, and perhaps second, century A.D., ulti-

[1] The original accounts, both apparently written by the same person, are to be found in Shortt, *Collectanea Curiosa* (published at Exeter in 1842), p. 43, pl. III, and *Gents. Magazine*, i, 1843, 505, pl. x; P. O. Hutchinson, *A New Guide to Sidmouth* (1857), 2, 25, and in *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xviii (1862), 61ff.; hence Worth in *Devon Assoc. Trans.* xxiii, 81. The original owner, the Rev. N. S. Heineken of Sidmouth, gives the date of discovery as 1840 (*Journal of Arch. Inst.* xii, 194). For a more recent, but very brief, account by Major Gordon Hume see *Illus. Lond. News*, 14th August 1926, and apparently also by him at greater length in the *Morning Post*, 16th and 17th August 1926, where the object is said to have been lost and recently found again. I am indebted to the authorities of the Exeter Museum for permission to publish the object and for arranging that photographs should be taken.

[2] The following list was made by Professor Haverfield and is now among his MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum. 'According to Hutchinson's MS. History of Sidmouth in Exeter Free Library nearly 200 Roman coins have been found at Sidmouth at various times, many too common for careful preservation. The following are noted specifically. (i) *On and near the beach*, 1 "first brass" of Vespasian 1862; a "first brass" of Commodus (*B.M. Cat.* iv, 787, nos. 518–22 *cf.* Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, iii, 411, no. 376 but Emperor to right on rev.) 1874; 1 Constantine i (apparently Cohen 513) found near the Chit Rock 1840—all copper. P. O. Hutchinson, MS. Hist. and *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xviii (1862), 61 f. (where he also mentions a Greek coin of Bactria found 1851 or 1855) and *Devon Assoc. Trans.* vii, 198, hence Davidson, *Notes on the antiquities of Devonshire* (1861) 72; all in Exeter (Albert Memorial) Museum. (ii) *Old Fore Street*, 1874, a "first brass of Nerva". Hutchinson MS.; Exeter Mus. (iii) *Burial ground*, 1850, a "first" or "second brass" of Faustina, *B.A.A.* xviii, 62; Hutchinson MS.; Exeter Mus. (iv) *Mill Cross*, Dec. 1850, a "third brass" of Claudius Gothicus. *Ibid.* (v) *Broadway*, 1876, an illegible "second brass" "Hadrian or Gordian", *Devon Assoc. Trans.* viii, 439, hence *ibid.* xxiii, 81; Hutchinson MS.; Exeter Mus. (vi) 'In the road near a deep pool in the river called Horse's Belly', in 1879, a Valentinian ii (probably Cohen, no.22); Heineken in *Devon Assoc. Trans.* xiv, 122, hence *ibid.* xxiii, 81. (vii) 'Hutchinson MS. notes a "second brass" of (?) Vespasian and 6 illegible Roman coins without locality.' We may add the following: P. O. Hutchinson in *A New Guide to Sidmouth* (1857), 2, records generally 'a coin of Claudius, another of Faustina i and one of Gallienus and some others, the property of Mr. N. S. Heineken'. Worth, *Devon Assoc. Trans.* xxiii (1891), 81, gives a general list of coins of Nerva, Vespasian, Faustina, Pius, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, Hadrian or Gordian, Constantine, Valentinian, and a Greek Bactrian, all apparently from the sources given above.

PLATE VIII

Mount of a Roman bronze tripod (7 in. from top of head to bottom of shank) found on the shore at Sidmouth and now in the Royal
Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter (see p. 22)

Photograph by W. Weaver Baker

PLATE IX
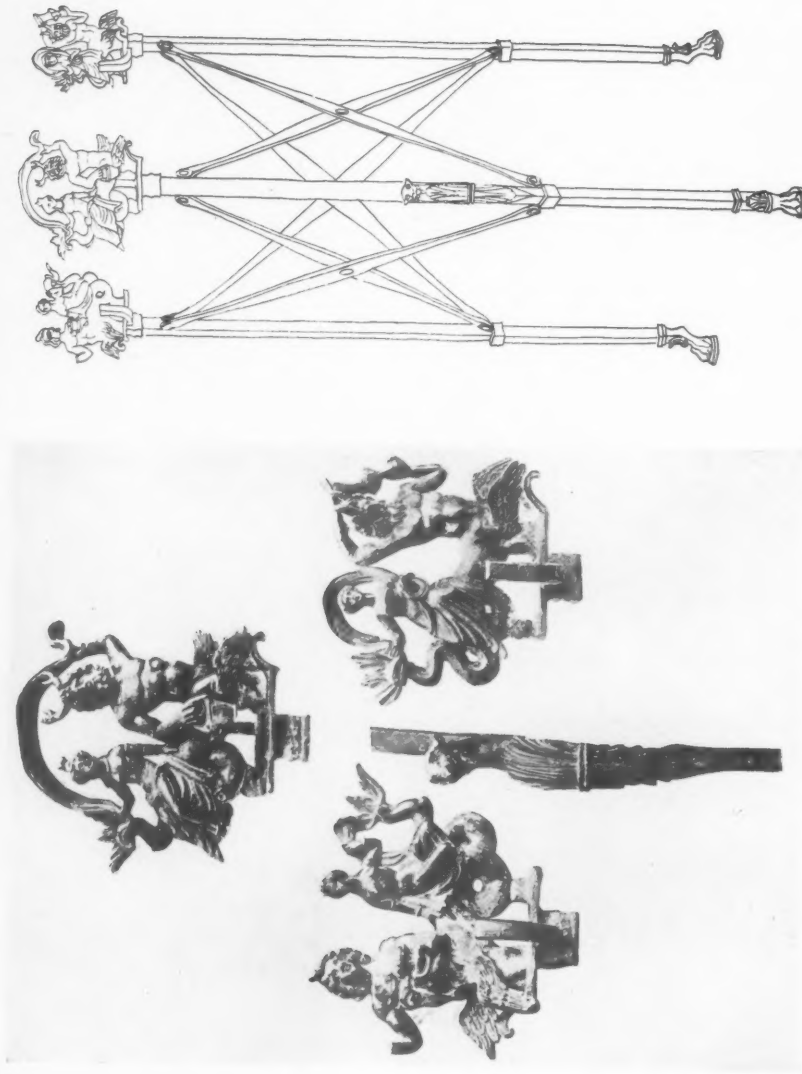
1, Three mounts and leg of a Roman bronze tripod (c. ⅓) found at Tigava in the Chélif valley and now in Algiers Museum, and, 2, Restoration of the tripod (c. 1/12) made by M. Hourlier for M. Wuilleumier (see p. 25)

From *Wuilleumier*, '*Musée d'Alger, Supplément*' (1928), *plate xi, and* '*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*', *xlv, 1928, plate iv*

mately from the Early Iron Age hill-fort at High Peak, two miles south-west of Sidmouth, has also been noted. The nearest site of any Roman structure is at Seaton, some nine or ten miles to the north-east, where traces of a Roman house have been observed. Until something more substantial has been discovered we can only conclude that the little harbour at the mouth of the river Sid in the Roman period was visited by a few travellers, but not extensively inhabited. It may even be that the bronze object, though of Roman date, was brought by a post-Roman traveller, or decorated a bowsprit when Sidmouth harbour was in use at a later date.

The object comprises a group of a centaur with rider and charging beast set on a pedestal which rests on a shank, now broken; at the top of the shank and immediately below the pedestal is a heavy hook-like bracket. The whole measures 7 in. high (from the top of the centaur's head to the bottom of the broken shank) and 5 in. at its maximum width. It has been cast and is hollow, and is very much worn by the action of the sea, a pebble being still lodged in the mouth and another under the arm of the centaur. The shank also is hollow, about 1½ in. deep, and filled with lead, perhaps in modern times.

Damaged though it is, it is clear that the chief figure of the group represents a young and beardless centaur with clustering, upstanding hair; the forelegs are both raised as if to fend off towards the right a charging animal; the right foreleg, bent out of shape leftwards, turns upwards and then bends downwards at the knee towards the right side of the charging animal's head (where it has been thickened for support), but is broken off near the fetlock. The left foreleg is bent down as far as the knee and then straightens out beneath the animal which it seems thus to be casting off. The animal's left foreleg is broken in the middle—the right is not clear—and the tail and back legs are missing, though the places where the latter were attached to the base are clear. A plant beneath the left side of the centaur acts as a support. The centaur's tail and part of his right hind leg are missing, his left hind leg has been broken, and there are five holes in the left of his body, one very big, and a long crack down the chest. His left arm, raised in front of his face and bent out of position, appears to be holding up some object, but it is broken off below the elbow. The right arm, drawn back, is bent as if to attack the animal with a weapon, but only a worn and isolated fragment of the hand remains. Some roughness in the animal's neck may represent the thrust of a weapon either from the centaur or the rider. The animal is probably a panther. The rider, a boy, stretches out his right leg, pressing it against the centaur's right hind leg, and draws up his left, thus gathering impetus for the weapon—probably a spear or dart—which he is hurling from his right hand at the animal. In his outstretched left hand is another weapon raised behind the centaur's neck, perhaps a sword. Something hangs down over his left hip at the back

and apparently over the middle of the left side of the centaur, possibly a scabbard hanging from a baldric. The hump on his back may be part of a cloak.

Even in its damaged condition, though a good piece, unusually good for an import to Roman Britain, it is vigorous rather than elegant, and lacks proportion and delicacy of treatment. Hunting centaurs are commonly found decorating Roman objects: for instance, two being charged by a lion and a panther are to be seen on the back of a third-century sarcophagus formerly in the Stroganoff Collection, the front of which portrays Achilles in Skyros.[1] Our group has always been interpreted, and rightly, as Cheiron teaching the young Achilles to hunt, a common scene on Roman reliefs, though usually Cheiron is bearded and often turns his head back towards his charge, and sometimes with one hand points towards the beast to be attacked.[2]

The accepted explanation of its use has been that of a legionary standard, but this is not satisfactory because the only known example of a centaur device is that of the *Legio II Parthica* which was raised by Septimius Severus and established on the Alban Hills, and on illustrations of these devices the centaur is seldom shown as a huntsman, and never carrying a rider.[3] Curiously enough, however, a standard depicting a centaur holding in his right hand a weapon with which he is dispatching a beast—said to be a wolf but probably a panther—resting on the centaur's left upraised leg, was found in this country, it is said 'in clay 7 or 8 ft. below the surface, at Spennithorne in Wensleydale', Yorkshire. The figures stand on a lotus-leaf capital, as the eagle standard is so often shown, and its total height, including the shank fragment for insertion into a support, is $8\frac{1}{4}$ in.[4] It has no bracket like that on the Sidmouth bronze. How it got to Spennithorne

[1] Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, ii, pl. VII; cf. the scenes on a marble and mosaic relief in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, *Catalogue* (1912), text, p. 45, no. 1, plate 9 1.

[2] Cf. Capitoline Tensa, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (ed. H. Stuart Jones, 1926). Text, p. 182, pl. LXX, no. 2 and cf. F. Staehlin, *Mitt. des Arch. Inst., Röm. Abt.* xxi, 340 ff.

[3] Mattingly, Sydenham, and Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, v, i, (1927), 94 (Gallienus nos. 332–8), 145 (*ibid.* nos. 163–4), 180 (*ibid.* no. 558); v, ii, 412 (Tetricus i, no. 151), 425 (Tetricus ii, 292), 480 (Carausius no. 187) and 487 (*ibid.* no. 272, with LEG iiii FL regarded as a blunder of the mint, see preface p. 440). On these coins the centaur is shown holding a globe, club, sceptre, trophy, spear, bow, pedum, or lyre, and only once hurling a javelin and once shooting from a bow.

[4] First published in *Soc. Antiq. Newcastle upon Tyne Proc.* ser. 2, x, 1901, 77, when it was in the possession of Mr. T. D. Veitch; poor illustration, *ibid.* ser. 3, iv, 1909, plate facing p. 18; it was then in the possession of Mr. John Taylor, Newcastle upon Tyne. Mr. James McIntyre tells me that its present whereabouts are unknown. It is referred to by I. A. Richmond in *Papers of British School at Rome*, xiii, 1935, 8, note 4. For similar capitals as pedestals for supporting badges shown on Trajan's Column see Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*, 33, 41, and 74, the last a ram (= Cichorius, *Die Reliefs d. Traianssäule*, i, 227 (scene xlviii), Taf. 35, 122), the badge of *Legio I Minervia*.

is a mystery, the nearest known Roman site being that of a Roman house at Middleham, a mile south-west. Reynolds, *Iter. Brit.*, refers to traces of a Roman camp here, citing Cade, but the latter in his letters published in *Archaeologia*, vols. vii, ix, and x, makes no reference to Spennithorne and the 'camp' may well be prehistoric. Dere Street, the Roman North road, runs some ten miles to the east.

No representation of a legionary standard, so far as I know, shows a bracket like that of our piece; indeed it is difficult to see how it could be a practical arrangement for holding a flag, or the *paterae*—the disc-like military decorations frequently shown attached to the shaft of the standard and generally below the badge[1]—and yet the presence of the bracket has been the chief reason for the identification of our group as a standard.

Our piece is in fact not a standard at all but something quite different. It is the ornamental upper part of one leg of a folding tripod and resembles in character the tripod found in a Roman house at Tigava (El Kharba on the river Chélif) between the modern Algiers and Orléansville, and now in the Algiers Museum (Musée Nationale des Antiquités). This tripod is published by M. P. Wuilleumier in *Musée d'Alger, Supplément (Musées et Collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, 1928, p. 72, pl. xi), and later in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xlv, 128 ff., where he revised his interpretation and made it the basis of a special study of similar tripods found in various parts of the Western Roman Empire, many in Gaul.[2] The Tigava tripod (pl. ix) was surmounted by a group of Tritons and Nereids, and all three groups were so arranged on their pedestals as to form one unit when looked at from one point of view—the centre facing outwards with the two sides looking towards it. The mounts on the Tigava tripod are unusually elaborate and about double the size of the ordinary figures used in the ornamentation of folding tripods; in the twenty-

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[1] Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, s.v. 'signum'; Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*, 35; Renel, 'Cultes militaires de Rome: les enseignes' (*Annales de l'Univ. de Lyon*, n.s., ii, fasc. 12, 1903), 206 ff., 228 ff. Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, 210 ff. A good example of a standard with a boar badge is in the British Museum, *B.M. Catal. of Bronzes*, no. 2907, and has never been reproduced except in an outline drawing in Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*; in war time it is not available for photography.

[2] M. Wuilleumier's list is fuller than that by Schwendemann, who first treated the subject in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*, xxxvi, 1921, 98 ff., 108 ff.; cf. C. C. Edgar, *Greek Bronzes (Cat. général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, 1904), pl. xiii, 27. 817 and 818; pl. vii, 27. 820–9. Two good examples in silver of Augustan date, in part restored, were found in the Hildesheim hoard—Pernice and Winter *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin 1901), plate xxvii, pp. 54–7, fig. 26. In a letter to me dated 22nd March 1930 M. Wuilleumier agrees with me in thinking that the Sidmouth bronze is a tripod mount, particularly if the shank is hollow, as it is. It is not possible in war time to communicate with M. Wuilleumier or the Editors of *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, and we must ask them to excuse the reproduction of the illustrations shown on plate ix without the permisssion which in peace time we feel sure would readily have been given.

four examples of tripods which M. Wuilleumier lists (only one of which occurs in Britain and it was probably imported in recent times[1]) the top of the legs terminate in foliage, shells, or busts of figures belonging to the Dionysiac cycle; even the Tritons of the Tigava tripod are represented not so much as of the sea but as members of a Dionysiac group. Our group is of almost the same size as the Tigava example and is therefore as unusual. It must have been one of a group of three members and—to judge from the position of the bracket—it would be the right-hand side. If interpreted as Cheiron and Achilles, the two other groups might have shown Cheiron teaching Achilles the lyre, or Achilles in Skyros, in the same way as depicted on sarcophagi. M. Wuilleumier gives full details of the mechanism and use of folding tripods, the development of which he assigns to the Roman period, though ultimately derived, via Greece, from the Egyptian table variety; they were used for two purposes: either to support on the top of the head surmounting the legs or by a rectangular tenon the flat surface of a tray or table-top, or, when provided with a bracket, to hold beneath the rim the curving surface of some kind of bowl or basin. In each case—sometimes both—diagonal rods connected the legs working on a kind of swivel (pl. IX, 2) which enabled them to be extended and raised at will and so fit trays and vases of different diameters. The hooks or brackets of these occur generally on the inside, but on the very large Tigava tripod they are placed towards the side so that the group may face that way and all three be seen as one piece. The legs of each variety are different: those for a bowl have rectangular straight legs, the others have inbent legs concealing a straight rod on which runs the sliding ring holding the diagonal rod. The bowls or basins which the Tigava and Sidmouth specimens were meant to hold must, to match the figures, have been solid and large. M. Wuilleumier considers that all the tripods were made in Italy or the Mediterranean.

It is not possible to assign a date to our piece in its decayed condition; the Tigava tripod is ascribed, from its artistic content, to the mid-second century. It is not likely that the Sidmouth example is earlier. At such a date and, if lost there in the Roman period, the tripod explanation is far more suitable than that of a legionary standard, and indeed the Tigava piece leaves no doubt at all that the centaur group was attached to a tripod.

[1] Smith and Hutton, *Wyndham Cook Coll. Catal.* (1908), 121, pl. XLIV.

Some Presumably Datable Fragments of an English Alabaster Retable, and some Assembled Notes on English Alabaster Carvings in Spain

By W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A.

IN view of the very number—possibly more than three thousand—of English alabaster devotional (as distinct from those made as parts of monuments) carvings which have survived, it is somewhat astonishing how extraordinarily small a proportion of them have hitherto been datable otherwise than on intrinsic grounds. We have, indeed, many references to such carvings in dated or datable documents, but in extremely few cases have we been able to identify the particular objects with which those references are concerned. So far as I know, the only ones which have as yet been connected definitely with a dated document are the ones in the reredos, depicting events in the story of St. James, preserved intact in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.[1] Almost invariably an English alabaster carving is datable only within somewhat wide limits, the criteria most usually applied being those laid down 'provisionally' (but now commonly accepted as practically correct) by Prof. Prior nearly thirty years ago,[2] and in accordance with the inherent characters of the sculpture and the applied coloration. Any discovery of data relating to a particular alabaster carving is, consequently, of considerable moment to us, not merely in relation with the object with which the data are immediately concerned, but much more importantly as giving us means for dating other similar carvings more accurately than within Prior's provisional 'Periods' (even though modified by the general terms 'early' and 'late') of about forty years each. In the case of the Santiago retable there can be no doubt at all as to the direct connexion between it and the existing document relating to it; in the case of the present fragments there is, unfortunately, in the only records I have found associated with them, an element of uncertainty, although there appears to be a very strong presumption that the medieval record to which I shall refer relates to the altar whose retable those fragments adorned.

Towards the end of the second third of the last century Señor Villa-amil y Castro, while examining a neglected vault of the cathedral of Mondoñedo containing a considerable number of stone fragments, discovered eight pieces of English alabaster tables,[3] some of them

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[1] Cf. Hildburgh, 'A Datable English Alabaster Altar-piece at Santiago de Compostela', in *Antiq. Journ.* vi (1926), 304 *seqq.*

[2] Cf. E. S. Prior, 'The Sculpture of Alabaster Tables', in *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work* (Society of Antiquaries), Oxford, 1913, 23 *seqq.*

[3] Cf. J. Villa-amil y Castro, 'La Catedral de Mondoñedo', in the monthly periodical

complete enough for him to state the general size[1] of the original panels (excepting the tallest, of which much seems to be lacking), others hardly more than a corner. These fragments clearly are the remains of a retable composed of scenes from the story of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in a number of cases bear on their backs numerals indicating their relative positions when set up, and (a feature so exceptional as to suggest that it was not added by the English carvers) inscriptions giving the titles of the scenes represented. According to Villa-amil, no. 2 was inscribed 'Conceptio'; no. 3, 'Nativitas'; no. 5, 'Praesentio'; no. 6, 'Purificatio'; no. 1 was without inscription; and no. 4 was lacking. He accompanied his descriptions[2] by two plates of lithographed sketches, unfortunately rather summary, of the objects, illustrating nos. 2, 3, 5, part of 6, the lower part of a table of God the Father holding the Son crucified, and the head of the Father and a censing angel from the upper part of that same table; the eighth fragment (not illustrated) was a similar angel facing in the opposite direction.

From Villa-amil's descriptions and sketches, supplemented by the material cited below, we are able to form a pretty good idea of what the complete reredos was like; it must in style and in period have been very similar to the lower tier of the two-tiered retable at La Celle,[3] whose upper tier depicts incidents in the story of St. George. In the lower tier of the La Celle retable there were two narrow end-panels (one is missing) representing single saints, and between them scenes from the story of the Virgin—the 'Birth of Mary', her 'Dedication', the 'Annunciation', the 'Nativity of our Lord', the 'Adoration of the Kings', and her 'Purification'—the panel of the central space has been removed. It seems, therefore, probable that table no. 1 of the Mondoñedo reredos was a half-width one representing some saint, no. 2 was Mary's 'Conception', no. 3 her birth, no. 4 a tall panel (closely corresponding to the tall panel at the centre of the Victoria and Albert Museum's altarpiece of the 'Five Joys of the Blessed Virgin'[4]) representing God the Father holding between His knees a Cross supporting the Crucified Son, no. 5 the 'Dedication of Mary', no. 6 her 'Purification', and no. 7 (of which Villa-amil seems to have found no trace) another half-width panel of a saint.

El Arte en España, iii, Madrid (1864) 1865, 403 *seqq*. It need hardly be pointed out that the writer did not recognize the fragments as English; it was not until several decades later that the true origin of carvings of the kind became known.

[1] Approximately 40 × 27 cm., indicating that these panels were of what can be termed the 'standard' size of the industrially produced alabaster tables of the period.

[2] These include, on p. 307 *seq*., details of the surviving applied colouring.

[3] Cf. Count Paul Biver, 'Some Examples of English Alabasters in France', in *Archaeol. Journ*. lxvii (1910), pl. VIII; *Ill. Cat. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 16.

[4] Cf. Maclagan, 'An English Alabaster Altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xxxvi (1920), 53 *seqq*. and pl. I; *A Picture Book of English Alabaster Carvings*, London (Victoria and Albert Museum), 1925, pl. 4.

The table (no. 2) inscribed 'Conceptio' (see pl. x, *a*)[1] is unusual in that on it three different scenes are depicted—in the upper part of the left side an angel, holding a scroll, tells St. Anne that she will conceive; below this Joachim, among his sheep,[2] seemingly surprised by a young man (perhaps the angel in the form of a youth, who promises him a daughter and predicts her glory [3]) blowing a horn; in the right-hand half is shown the meeting at the Golden Gate.

The table depicting the 'Nativity of the Blessed Virgin' seems not to have been at the cathedral when Balsa de la Vega photographed the other pieces—it was exhibited by Villa-amil in the Madrid Historical Exhibition of 1892[4]—but Villa-amil's sketch of it in *El Arte en España*, his description ('high relief in alabaster, painted and gilt, 39 × 27 cm.') in the catalogue of the exhibition, and some other very similar tables of the same subject, give us a clear idea of what it was like. St. Anne lies on a bed extending diagonally across the middle of the panel, resting her head on her right hand; behind the bed stand three women, the one at the foot of the bed holding the infant Mary, swathed in bandages; above these women curtains are draped from a projecting cornice (very like the cornices which are a feature of the, earlier, 'Embattled' group of alabaster tables) from the middle of which hangs a lamp; in front of the bed, Joachim is seated at its head, and at its foot is a woman stirring a pot on a stand above a fire. There is in the La Celle reredos a table of the same subject, very like the Mondoñedo one, but with only two women behind the bed, with a cradle in front of the bed, and without the woman stirring the pot;[5] and in a fragmentary one in the Madrid Archaeological Museum[6] there are three women (the middle one holding the child) behind the bed, and in front of it a cradle, an empty chair (presumably for Joachim) at the foot of the bed, and what (below a large area restored in blank) looks like part of the support for a pot. We may see resemblances, in certain ways even closer, in a somewhat

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[1] Reproduced, as are also pl. x *b* and *c*, from photographic reproductions (after negatives by R. Balsa de la Vega) accompanying M. Amor Meilán's section on 'Lugo' in *Geografía general del Reino de Galicia*, Barcelona, N.D., pl. facing p. 448. I am indebted to the Hispanic Society of America, and to Mrs. Beatrice Gilman Proske, of the staff of its museum, for notice of these reproductions.

[2] In *Antiq. Journ.* v, pl. xii, I reproduced an alabaster table in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, which I took to represent the 'Annunciation to the Shepherds', and I remarked that that table was the only one of the subject in English alabaster of which I knew. I am now of the opinion that it represents, rather, the announcement to Joachim— an opinion supported by the presence in that same museum of a table of the 'Dedication of Mary' and of one of her 'Purification' (cf. *ibid.*, pl. xi).

[3] As in the 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew'; cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, 73.

[4] Cf. J. Villa-amil y Castro, *Catálogo de los objetos de Galicia*, in the Exposición Histórico-Europea, Madrid, 1892, 24. I regret that I have no notices of this interesting table beyond those given above, and do not know where it is now.

[5] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. viii. [6] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxix, 76.

earlier table[1] of the 'Naming of St. John', in the Versailles Library,[2] where, though there are only two women, the one at Elisabeth's head is in almost exactly the same attitude as the woman at Anne's head in the Mondoñedo table, and the other, holding the child, at her feet, in almost exactly the same attitude as the corresponding woman in the present table, while the lamp is in precisely the same situation and (so far as one may judge from Villa-amil's sketch) of the same kind as in that table; in the Versailles table the little midwife stirring the pot is in front of the head of the bed, while Zacharias is seated at its foot.

In pl. x *b* is reproduced a large fragment which, almost certainly, was part of the central panel of the reredos. To this same panel, part of which is missing, belonged a bearded head, about 6 cm. high, of God the Father wearing a triple tiara surmounted by a cross, and also, from the two upper corners, two fragments on which appear censing angels.

The 'Dedication' of Mary (pl. x, *c*) shows her, as is usual in the English alabaster tables, in the form of a little figure (here already crowned) mounting without help the traditional fifteen[3] steps to the top of a great altar (symbolizing the Temple) behind which stands the high priest.[4]

Of the 'Purification' table, only about half—the right-hand half— remains;[5] it shows the altar, on which is the Infant Christ, and the high priest behind it.

These pieces were said, by the few persons who knew of them while in the vault, to be remains of the High Altar, consecrated on 22nd August 1462 by Bishop Fadrique de Guzman;[6] both the dedication of the cathedral in honour of the Virgin Mary, and the general agreement in style of the pieces with the style of the period to which we should be inclined to assign them, favour that ascription. Were we able to accept without question the tradition—if tradition indeed it was, and not a hypothesis advanced at some (possibly remote) time by persons learned in the history of the cathedral—we should have a valuable criterion for dating other carvings of the same school. Although I am inclined, for reasons given below, to believe that the alabasters indeed came from Bishop de Guzman's altar, I feel that it might be unsafe to say definitely, until we have further information concerning that altar, that in fact they did. Just about the time English ecclesiastical furniture, including great numbers of alabaster carvings, was being destroyed wholesale or turned out of England,

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[1] 40 × 28 cm., and thus almost exactly the same size as the present one.
[2] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Antiq. Journ.* viii (1928), pl. xvi and 58 *seqq.*
[3] Villa-amil, apparently mistakenly, gives this as seventeen.
[4] A number of representations in this form survive.
[5] Shown in Villa-amil's sketch on his second plate.
[6] Cf. H. Florez, *España sagrada*, xviii, Madrid, 1789, 205.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

a, b, c. English alabaster tables from a retable (c. 1462) at Mondoñedo
d. English alabaster table in Seminario at Santiago de Compostela

PLATE XI

(a)

(b)

English alabaster retable at Avilés

Bishop Diego de Soto (1546–9) made many changes in the cathedral, beautifying it, carrying out repairs and restorations, and the like; wherefore there seems a possibility that the cathedral's alabasters were brought to Mondoñedo in his time, in the same way as many other English alabasters and other ecclesiastical objects were in those years brought elsewhere in Spain. That the possibility is one not fantastically remote is suggested by the presence (or at least the former presence) in the Santuario of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, in Mondoñedo Cathedral, of an image to which the name 'La Inglesa' (it was also called 'La Grande') was applied because it was brought from St. Paul's at the time of the Reformation.[1]

From the town of Lugo there were two principal ways of going to Oviedo: one by way of the sea-coast; the other, somewhat shorter, entirely inland. Mondoñedo, about fifteen miles from the sea, lies about one-quarter of the distance along the coast-route towards Oviedo; at Rivadeo the road reaches the sea, and thence it follows the coast to Avilés, a little seaport, whence it runs inland again, some five 'leagues', to Oviedo; from Mondoñedo to Avilés by this road is approximately twenty-three 'leagues'.[2] At Avilés there is a small retable (see pl. xi[3]) of seven panels, in honour of the Virgin Mary; its panels, which still retain much of their applied colouring, from right to left are: (half-width) St. Catherine, the 'Annunciation', the 'Adoration of the Kings', the 'Resurrection of our Lord', the 'Assumption of the Virgin', her 'Coronation', and (half-width) St. Margaret. Above the panels are the detachable traceried headings of alabaster pertaining to them, but not the wooden cresting presumably originally surmounting the retable, and below them a band on which are inscribed, in Gothic lettering, the titles of the events or the persons depicted. The retable appears originally to have been a triptych, of much the same size as the one now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cf. p. 28 *supra*), and later to have been remounted in its present form; the wooden vertical divisions between the panels have the same shape as those of the museum's reredos, but there seem (so far as I can judge

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[1] Cf. Richard Ford, (Murray's) *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, 3rd ed., London, 1855, 626. A. F. G. Bell, in *Spanish Galicia*, London, 1922, 59, quotes Villa-amil as saying (in *La Catedral de Mondoñedo*, Madrid, 1865, 55) that, according to tradition, the image of Nuestra Señora la Grande was brought from England, during the schism of Henry VIII, by a pious Catholic named Juan d'Utton [? John Dutton], who because of the heresies in England of the time came to live in the town of Vivero, where he built half the monastery of Santo Domingo and did many things. He engaged in trade, and in 1558 undertook to provide oil for Mondoñedo. It is, in this connexion, interesting to recall the Christ of Lezo, not far from San Sebastian, brought to Spain in that same period by a Spanish vessel, but which according to legend was thrown into the sea by Henry VIII and carried by the waves to the coast of Spain; cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxxii, 128.

[2] Cf. Ford, *op. cit.* 625 *seq.*

[3] Reproduced by courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America, to whom belong the negatives, together with two others (less satisfactory for our purposes) of the retable.

from the photographs I have) no longer to be any hinges between the second panel and the third, or the fifth panel and the sixth, though that formerly there were hinges so situated is indicated by solid insertions at the corresponding places in the inscribed wooden band. The whole is now mounted, apparently rigidly, at the back of the altar in the 'Capilla de las Alas', the chapel of the most noble and. most powerful family of Avilés of their time.[1]

The Avilés altarpiece seems almost certainly to be, at least so far as its alabasters and its inscribed band (whose repairs for disguising where the hinges were removed are evidence that it is the original one) are concerned, complete; the 'Virgin' retable in the church of Saint-Michel, at Bordeaux, similarly has as its central panel a 'Resurrection'.[2] It is, however, slightly (though I think not seriously) disquieting to observe that the four 'Virgin' scenes of the Avilés altarpiece are all different from the four of the Mondoñedo one, and could, were we to interchange the last scene (the 'Purification') at Mondoñedo with the first (the 'Annunciation') at Avilés, be made to form a continuous series, thus suggesting the possibility that the two sets originally were parts of a single large altarpiece in England, and that when that postulated altarpiece was expelled from its native land they were shipped to Avilés and there parted, one set remaining in Avilés, the other going the short distance, along a main road, to Mondoñedo. That such division of a large altarpiece into two or more groups of tables to be re-used separately sometimes occurred is witnessed by the instance of the reredos formed of English alabaster tables now at Saint-Avit-les-Guespières,[3] since, of the six Apostles once companioning the six which have been built into that reredos, at least four have been identified[4] and are now on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It seems to me that we have reasonably strong evidence that such division did not occur here in that, on the one hand, the Avilés reredos shows signs of having originally been a hinged triptych, and on the other, precisely its combination of scenes from the story of the Virgin occurs elsewhere—e.g. in the Montréal reredos[5] (where a 'Mass of St. Gregory' replaces the Avilés 'Resurrection of our Lord' and two male Saints its two female Saints). Furthermore, the detachable traceried headings of the Avilés reredos are precisely like those of the Santiago altarpiece of St. James (cf. p. 27 *supra*), which we know

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[1] Cf. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, xv (1907), 12, with photographic reproduction on pl. facing 11.

[2] Cf. *Ill. Cat. cit.*, pl. vii, fig. 14; Biver, *op. cit.*, pl. xviii; J. A. Brutails, *Album d'objets d'art existant dans les Églises de la Gironde*, Bordeaux, 1907, pl. 25. This retable has seven scenic-panels, instead of the Avilés five.

[3] Cf. Biver, *op. cit.*, pls. v, vi; Nelson, in *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1920, pl. facing 55.

[4] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* iv (1924), pl. LI and 374 *seq.*; cf. *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii (1931), 238 *seq.* and pl. IX, for another Apostle presumably of the same set.

[5] Cf. *Ill. Cat. cit.*, pl. vii, fig. 15.

was brought to Santiago in 1456, thus suggesting that the Avilés one was an importation—and one quite possibly inspired (as the importation of the alabasters at Mondoñedo might also have been inspired) by the presence in Santiago Cathedral of the English alabaster altarpiece of St. James—from England in the ordinary course of trade, and not an object expelled as a result of the Reformation. I am, therefore, inclined to think that, lacking definite evidence to the contrary, we may pretty safely regard the Mondoñedo fragments as remnants of the reredos of the altar which Bishop Fadrique de Guzman consecrated in 1462.

There are so many other references to English alabasters in Spain to be found scattered in periodicals and, but to a much lesser extent, in books that I have thought worthy of assemblage below those— presumably by no means all that have been published—of which I know; and the more especially because certain of the objects recorded in little-known works are of very considerable interest on their own accounts and quite apart from their relations to the medieval export-trade in English alabaster carvings.

In the library of the Santiago Seminario is a very unusual—indeed, so far as I recall, unique—table representing the 'Adoration of our Lord at His Nativity' and, in its upper part, the 'Coming of the Kings'[1] (see pl. x, d [2]); in addition to Mary, Joseph, the two midwives, and the inevitable Ox and Ass, there are in the background of the 'Adoration' two men whom I take to be shepherds, one of them with his pipe.

Another alabaster, a table of God the Father holding souls in a napkin and with Christ on the Cross between His knees,[3] preserved at Pontevedra, about thirty miles south of Santiago and about twenty from the seaport of Vigo, has been reported by Maclagan.[4]

Farther to the east, along the coast of the Bay of Biscay, a number of other English alabasters have been reported: a noble table of the Holy Trinity with angels and a pious donor, from Bilbao;[5] a group of interesting fragments found in the ruined Eremita de Salvatore, between Rentería and Oyarzun, now in the Municipal Museum at San Sebastian;[6] and, from the same district, three well-preserved tables

[1] It may be observed that the Daroca 'Adoration of the Kings', noted below, is analogously arranged, but has its kings in the main portion of the table, and the heads of their three horses in the place of the kings themselves here.

[2] Reproduced from E. Carré Aldao's 'Provincia de la Coruña', in *Geografía general del Reino de Galicia*, ii, 996.

[3] On this, seemingly exclusively English, subject, cf. *The 'Trinity' with Souls*, in my 'Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings', in *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1933), 50 *seqq.* and figs. 8, 9.

[4] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xii (1932), 410.

[5] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxviii (1916), 63 *seq.*; the table is now on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[6] Cf. *id.* in *ibid.* xxxii (1920), 124 *seq.*

of scenes from the story of St. Catherine and an image-panel of St. Margaret in the church of Santa Maria at Fuenterrabía.[1]

On the western side, three tables have been reported in collections at or near Barcelona,[2] and a fine figure of St. Michael at Sampedor, in Catalonia.[3]

For the south, there are the seven tables depicting scenes from the story of the Blessed Virgin, from a retable in the church of Santa Maria la Vieja at Cartagena, now in the Madrid Archaeological Museum;[4] and the two from a small church (or chapel) in Cordova.[5] It is interesting to find that, even before the end of the fourteenth century, English alabaster carvings were carried in ships trading to southern Spain—a petition relating to a case of piracy informs us that '. . . Henry Mayn and William Mayn his brother, merchants of Dartmouth, . . . on the 10th day of August in the 14th year of our lord King Richard [1390] . . . loaded at Dartmouth a ship called the "George" with woolen cloth of divers colours, images of alabaster and other merchandise, to the value of £1,000, in order to have crossed the sea towards the parts of Great Seville . . .'.[6] We should keep in mind, however, that although the *George* was bound for Seville, not all of her cargo may have been shipped for delivery there; doubtless it was intended that she should call at other ports, on the northern coast of Spain, or the western, on her way, and it may well be that the 'ymagez d'alabastre' were sent for delivery at some one or more of those ports.

Even away from coastal towns—where, sea-borne, we should most naturally expect to find them—and so testifying to their popularity in Spain, there were many English alabaster carvings to be seen. From a religious community in Navarre came the splendid great group of 'St. Anne teaching our Lady', of the Plandiura Collection.[7] From a church in the town of Zamora came the fine complete set of image-panels of the Apostles, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[8] From Valladolid, a large fragment of a table of the 'Resurrection of the Dead', excavated on the site of a convent there.[9] I have recorded a table formerly in the Segovia Provincial Museum, and another in the cathedral of Sigüenza.[10] From a village church in the province of

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[1] Cf. Maclagan, in *Burlington Mag.* xxxvi, 62 and pl. II.

[2] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxxii, 128 *seq.*

[3] Cf. *id.*, in *Antiq. Journ.* x, 35 *seq.* and pl. VI.

[4] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Pro. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxix (1917), 74 *seqq.*

[5] *Id.* 84 *seqq.*

[6] Cf. *Select Cases in Chancery A.D. 1364 to 1471* (edited by W. Paley Baildon), London (Publications of the Selden Society, x), 1896, 45 *seq.*

[7] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* iii, 24 and pl. VI.

[8] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvii (1920), 215 *seqq.* and pls. III, IV, v; R. P. Bedford, in *Burlington Mag.* xlii (1923), 130 *seqq.* with pl.; *Picture Book cit.*, pls. 6, 7.

[9] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxxii (1920), 121 *seq.*

[10] Cf. *id.* in *Antiq. Journ.* vi, 307.

Soria came an 'Adoration of the Kings' and a 'Coronation of the Virgin', remnants of one altarpiece.[1] A 'St. John's Head' table was found in the kitchen of a house in the hamlet of Calamocha, in the province of Teruel.[2] At Daroca are two remarkable tables, of exceptionally fine quality. One represents the coronation of the Virgin Mary, holding in one hand a lily as sceptre and in the other a globe, by the Three Persons of the Trinity (the Third Person in the shape of a Dove), with a triple tiara, as Queen of Heaven; the table has an embattled canopy and an embattled base, and rests upon a pedestal of elaborate tracery at whose middle are two angels supporting a shield. The other, from the same reredos, represents the 'Adoration of the Kings', with the heads of their three horses, in the upper left-hand corner of the table, looking down on the kings; below the table, whose base, like that of its companion, is embattled, is a pedestal of elaborate tracery, and above it is a beautiful traceried canopy—the finest of its kind that I recall—with Christ on the Cross at its centre, a little wider than the table (as if originally extending part of the way over the wooden divisions between the tables composing the altarpiece for which it was made).[3]

At Palma de Mallorca there was formerly, in the old oratory of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, a group of five embattled tables from a 'Passion' reredos.[4] Since my publication of these[5] I have found a reference, unfortunately to us practically valueless, to some history associated with them. Apparently the oratory still contained its ecclesiastical furniture in 1843, in which year it was given over to secular uses and its contents were removed to the church of St. Nicholas; it was perhaps at that time that the alabasters were taken into their personal custody by the family to which, as I understand the account, the oratory then belonged.[6] Accompanying the text of this reference is a small sketch of the 'Crucifixion' table of the set; and at the side of this another small sketch of an English alabaster flat-backed image of St. Paul holding a great sword and a book, concerning which I found no text.

Besides the English alabasters which we are able to connect with definite localities in Spain there are very many of whose provenance

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[1] *Id.* in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxxi, 59 *seqq.*, and pls. facing 59, 60.

[2] *Ibid.* 61 and pl. facing 60.

[3] Cf. *Boletín Soc. Española Excursiones*, xxxvi (1928), pl. facing 240. I regret that I have not seen these very noteworthy objects; I have, however, from the rather small photographic reproductions given, an impression that by far the greater part, if not indeed the whole, of them is of English workmanship.

[4] Cf. Hildburgh, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxviii, 231 *seqq.*, with pls. III, IV, V; *id.* in *Antiq. Journ.* vi, 307; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiv, 114 *seq.*

[5] A slip of my pen, on p. 232 *loc. cit.*, although so obvious as to be harmless, deserves correction here; I spoke, in connexion with the 'Carrying of the Cross', of 'Joseph of Arimathea' where I should have put 'Simon the Cyrenian'.

[6] Cf. Louis Salvator, *Die Balearen*, iv, Leipzig, 1882, 113 *seqq.*

we know nothing beyond that they came, for sale in Madrid, in San Sebastian, in Paris, or in London, from some unspecified (and generally unrecorded, perhaps after having passed through several Spanish hands) situation 'in Spain'. Of those from unspecified Spanish localities which I myself have placed on record, there may be cited the tables of the 'Death of the Virgin Mary',[1] the 'Entombment of St. Etheldreda',[2] the 'Coronation of the Virgin',[3] the embattled 'Crucifixion',[4] the 'Our Lord received in Heaven and His appearances to His Mother and to Mary Magdalene',[5] and the embattled 'Annunciation';[6] further to these, there may be added a fine isolated (i.e. not as part of a table) Head of St. John,[7] and a tall 'Crucifixion' table of poorish sculpture.[8] Many of the examples illustrated in Dr. Philip Nelson's series of papers on English alabaster carvings, published in the *Archaeological Journal*, have been brought from unspecified localities in Spain. Of them, a few have been recorded as from some, to him undisclosed, place in Spain; and for many of the others a fairly recent abode in Spain is suggested by their ownership when he recorded them.[9] Those which he has recorded specifically as from Spain include: an apparently unique table of the 'Adoration of the Virgin', very curious in its composition;[10] one of the 'Ascension of our Lord';[11] one of 'Christ washing the Feet of the Disciples';[12] one of the 'Mocking of Christ';[13] and a very beautiful tall one of the 'Trinity' (God the Father with Christ on the Cross between His knees; a hole in the Cross served for attaching the Dove) with angels.[14]

Three figures of St. John Baptist (one on a fragment of a scenic-panel, with part of another figure showing behind him; another, on a half-width image-panel seemingly from the end of an altarpiece; and the third, in part restored) have been recorded by Sentenach.[15]

An extraordinarily fine flat-backed group of the so-called 'Trinity with Souls',[16] with two donors,[17] which is now in the Boston (U.S.A.)

[1] Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 S., xxix, 87 *seqq.*, with fig. 10.
[2] *Id.* 90 *seqq.*, with fig. 11.
[3] *Ibid.* xxxi, 58 *seq.*, with fig. 3.   [4] *Id.* 57 *seq.*, with fig. 1.
[5] *Id.* 58, with fig. 2; *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, pl. XLVI.
[6] Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* viii, 54 and pl. XIV; *ibid.* xvii, pl. XC.
[7] *Id.* 62 *seq.* and pl. XVII.   [8] Unpublished.
[9] Most of the examples recorded as belonging to Mr. Lionel Harris, of 'The Spanish Art Gallery', were bought by Mr. Harris in Spain; and many of those recorded as in the collection of the late Mr. Grosvenor Thomas came, not rarely after passing through Mr. Harris's hands, from Spain.
[10] Cf. Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxvii (1920), 217, with pl. VI.
[11] *Id.* 221, with pl. XII.
[12] *Id.* 218 *seq.*, with pl. VIII.
[13] *Ibid.* lxxxii, 32 and pl. VII.   [14] *Ibid.* lxxxiii, 43 and pl. VIII.
[15] Cf. N. Sentenach, 'Estatuas alabastrinas del Siglo XIV', in *Boletín Soc. Española Excursiones*, xi (1903), 10 *seqq.*, with pl. facing 11.   [16] Cf. p. 33, n. 3 *supra*.
[17] Cf. *Burlington Mag.* liii (1928), pl. on 263 with note on 265; Hildburgh, in *Folk-Lore*, xliv, 50, 54, and fig. 8.

Museum of Fine Arts, passed through Madrid from some unspecified situation in Spain.

The notably fine alabaster group of 'St. George and the Dragon', said to have come from a church at Quejano, in the province of Bilbao,[1] for which Nelson has suggested[2] the possibility of an English origin, is, I am inclined to think, more probably of Spanish origin under strong English influence than purely English. Since my mention of this group (in *Antiq. Journ.* x, 37, *n.* 8), I have had an opportunity of examining it minutely; its stone seemed to be closer-grained and more wax-like than that of the medieval English alabaster carvings, and its sculpture in the round, instead of with a back flat for setting against a plane surface, is quite unlike that of any English alabaster devotional image with which I am acquainted.

[1] Cf. B. Oppenheim, *Originalbildwerke ... aus der Sammlung Benoit Oppenheim Berlin,* Supp., Leipzig, 1911, pl. 79; Nelson, in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii, 44 *seq.*, with pl. ix; A. S. Tavender, in *Parnassus,* 1931, 28 *seq.*

[2] *Loc. cit.*

The Grünenberg Wappenpuch: Some Corrections

By S. M. COLLINS

THE following are some identifications that eluded the editors of the 1875 edition. This fine armorial is not widely known to English readers; for with few exceptions its contents are exclusively continental, and in the great majority German, arms. Its compiler was a wealthy amateur armorist of the fifteenth century, of the Patriciate of the city of Constance, in which he discharged several important offices of the municipality. He was also a considerable traveller, and made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving an illustrated account of it. The armorial, which he completed in 1483, is the work of a joyous and accomplished heraldic draughtsman, with a great facility for design and the fertile invention of damascening patterns. Conrad Grünenberg sets out all his coats as complete achievements, with helmet, crest, and mantling in colour. They number over two thousand, and constitute the fullest and best-executed epitome of German heraldry of his time. But he was omnivorous for coat-armour and scavenged widely throughout the medieval world for his collection, from Scandinavia to Africa, from Ireland to Russia, and beyond to the East and to lands of fable.

After an abortive attempt at an edition, by Dorst and Stillfried, in 1842, a complete full-size reproduction of Grünenberg's *Wappenpuch* was brought out in 1875 by the firm of Starke in Görlitz, under the editorship of Count Stillfried-Alcántara with the assistance of A. M. Hildebrandt, a well-known German authority on heraldry. The notes that follow are in supplement to their work and the figures are transcribed from Grünenberg's drawings. The *échancrures* in the shields illustrated are due to the intrusion of helmets or neighbouring shields.

1. Pl. LX b—*Prinz de Lamorrea in frankrich*. The arms are: *Or* a forked cross with eight dragons' heads *Sable*. The editors, p. 59, hazard the guess 'Lamoignon' only to dismiss it. The coat is in fact for Geoffrey de Villehardouin Seigneur de Calamata, Prince of the Morea, who died in 1218. He was nephew of the celebrated chronicler, his namesake; and followed Guillaume de Champlitte in the principate of the Peloponnese or Achaea. This rendering of the arms appears in the Montjoie Roll no. 91. The more orthodox if less picturesque version of *Or* a cross recercely *Sable* is vouched for only by English Rolls, Grimaldi 33, FitzWilliam 28, Camden 56, all for a Prince of Morea. It is plainly a difference of the seigneurial arms of the family,
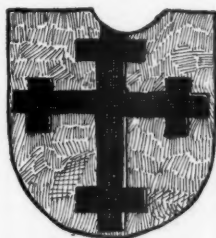
Gules a cross recercely *Or* (Petit, E., 'Les Sires de Villehardouin', *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Aube*, Troyes 1911), which do not happen to be quoted in any French medieval roll of arms. The coat on pl. cix b, assigned to Heren von Morelle, *Or* a cross crosslet *Sable*, may with high probability be suspected as meant for the same bearer. The editors have no comment to make.

2. Pl. liiii b—*Herczog von Anndern In pullen.* The arms are: *Gules* a sun in splendour *Argent.* The editors' shot here, p. 85, is singularly wide of the mark: 'Podolien', they assert, without qualification or hesitation, as their translation of 'pullen'. The Germans of to-day would know better; for Podolia was a vaivodate in south-west Ukraine. And the medieval dukes at no time so approximated to the Gilbertian market-value of three-a-penny that a duchy of 'Anderen' could float about undetected there. 'Pullen' is Grünenberg's form of 'Apulia', and occurs in several places in his pages. Formerly a duchy, it was already by the fourteenth century incorporated in the kingdom of Sicily, though its older name continued in use. The arms are the exceedingly well known and almost unique coat of the illustrious family of Les Baux (whence bauxite) in Provence, whose castle stands in a little rocky pass across the small range of Les Alpines, about ten miles northeast of Arles. A Bertrand des Baux, of a very junior branch, Seigneur de Meyrargues and Puyricarde, became Count of Montecaglioso and Duke of Andria, and died in 1350, leaving a succession of dukes. Andria is in the Terra di Bari, a district of Apulia, on the south-east coast of Italy, some fifteen miles west of Bari, then in the kingdom of Sicily; Bertrand was buried in Andria Cathedral. The coat is of some interest to English people, for it was for a time very familiar to them. It was quartered, with very slender justification, by a queen of England, Elizabeth Wydville, Edward IV's wife, in sign rather than in right of her mother Jacquette de Luxemburg (who was by no means heiress of Andria or Les Baux), presumably in emulation of her rival Margaret of Anjou's brilliant and more defensible array of quarterings.

Like the Prince of the Morea above, the Duke of Andria, though by origin a 'French'man, was, much more, a figure in European history of the time. Yet the continental writers on heraldry seem liable to be at a loss to recognize his coat of arms. In his transcript of the Navarre Roll, 1859, the eminent Douet-Darcq leaves the Les Baux coat under its ascription 'Le Duc Dambre' without elucidation (p. 45),

though zealous a few lines later to assure his reader that 'Pimont' is properly Piedmont, with the arms of Savoy. 'Dambre' is considerably less perspicuous to the reader, and, we may suspect, to that editor than 'Pimont'. The same form of the word does duty in another part of the Grünenberg armorial—Herczog von Dambre—for Andria, pl. XLVII, where the silver sun on the red field is enclosed with a gold engrailed bordure. Stillfried-Alcántara and Hildebrandt mistrust (rightly), p. 105, their own surmise of 'Dampierre' (!) this time; but they have no better solution to offer. The bordured coat, though not engrailed, is confirmed by the Montjoie Roll alone, no. 111, for *le duc damdre*. The sunburst is conclusive for the family. Grünenberg lays unintentional traps for editors. The companion piece to the Andria coat on pl. LIIII b is an achievement for the Duke of Troppau, in Silesia, and it is followed by Wolgast and Stettin in Pomerania, on the next plate. So the attention of the editors, in their unfamiliarity with the Les Baux arms, was, not unnaturally, deflected far to the north of France and Italy.

3. Pl. LXVII b—*Grauff von Widemund*. The arms are: Burely *Sable* and *Argent*. It is difficult to understand that heraldry-writers, writing, as Germans must, from the standpoint of the medieval empire, should not be well acquainted with these arms, and penetrate the thinly disguised name of Vaudémont. Now in the French département of Meurthe, Vaudémont was a fief of the house of Lorraine, and became in the eleventh century a county for one of the younger sons. A succession lasted for four centuries until the last count became Duke of Lorraine, and thus merged that duchy in the county, at about the time Grünenberg was busy with his collection. The coat is quoted in the Montjoie, 382, the Vermandois, 345, and the Berry, 863, rolls.

4. Pl. CVIII b—*von Hallowiller*. The arms are: *Argent* a fess *Gules* between three eagles *Azure*. This is for Hellenvilliers in Normandy near Évreux, dépt. Eure. The coat is given in the Navarre 224.

5. Pl. CXXIX—*Heren von Herttunnde*. The coat is: Gerony of twelve *Vair* and *Gules*. It is ascribed to Belleville, in the Marche of Guienne, by the Berry Roll, no. 1088, and the Besançon Roll, no. 132 (where the editor Prinet shows that this Belleville is in Poitou, dépt. Vendée), and in several other rolls. The corruption of the word to 'Herttunnde' is certainly extreme but not unparalleled. Reading the unfamiliar name in a script as flourished as his own, but with a different convention, Grünenberg could well have converted the one into the other.

6. Pl. CXXIX—*Heren von Staffart*. Arms: *Gules* a chevron *Or*. It would be tempting to English readers to see here an inadvertent colour-inversion of our Stafford coat. But it is, as it stands, recorded for a Norman family of Les Essarts in the Sicile Roll, no. 1341. In

light of the preceding example this would seem more likely to be theirs than for the English family. There are local names of somewhat similar shape, Astaffort in Guienne and Staffarda in Italy; but they may be ruled out here.

These two cases are on the same plate; and with them is an 'Angefur', incontestably for the singular arms of the Champenois house of Anglure (the only one that our editors can solve). Together they throw some little light on Grünenberg's probable practices. It would look as if he would exchange specimens with brother-collectors, as collectors of all kinds have ever done; and that when some of them reached him he could not always decipher the inscription sent with them. In other cases, as we shall see, the name was probably communicated to him orally, and his version was modified by his own dialectal characteristics and orthographic habits.

7. Pl. CXXII—*Herren von munttagu och võ Spiczberg*. Arms: Quarterly *Gules* a bend *Argent*; and *Gules* an eagle *Or*. The 'Spitzberg' is only the translation of the Mont-aigu. The whole composition is given in the Sicile, no. 1010, but with the eagle *Argent*, for Jehan de Neufchâtel, Seigneur de Montaigu, among the nobility of Burgundy.

8. Pl. CVIII (CXVIII b)—*Her von Muyan*. Arms: Barry of six *Argent* and *Gules* a lion *Sable*. These are the arms of Mornay, in the Berry Roll no. 178.

9. Pl. CXXIX b—*Herre von türsche*. Arms: Party *Gules* a lion *Argent*; and *Argent* a bend *Azure*. These are the arms of Duras-Durfort, as evidenced by the Sicile Roll, no. 428, in Gascony, but in the contrary order. The places are in the valley of the Garonne, near Marmande and Moissac respectively. As indicated above, the spelling 'Türsche' is apparently due to a viva-voce rendering of Duras heard by German ears. The editors provide us no help; the names on this sheet are missing from the index, and, with the inexplicable jumble of their notes, which follow no comprehensible order, it is impossible to find any given coat except by the index. Every coat in the manuscript purports to have been tabulated in their commentary, with or without elucidation, but those on this page cannot be found.

10. Pl. LX b—*Printz de Dankerwiller in normandy*. Arms: *Gules* two bars *Or*. These are the arms of Harcourt, and they are repeated on pl. LXXVII, and correctly named and edited there. Dankerwiller is for Tancarville (Villa Tancredi). The editors give the facts, but do not make this clear. The county of Tancarville was acquired by marriage by a Harcourt in 1417, with a Melun heiress. The arms of Melun and Tancarville are drawn, incorrectly, on banners for the crest.

11. Pl. CLXXXV b—*von Erkel*. Arms: *Argent* two bars counter-embattled *Gules*. This is for Arkel, a seigneury in Holland in the basin of the Waal, north of Gorinchem. The family is of some interest to people in these islands. Mary daughter and heir of John XII lord of Arkel

by Joan of Jülich, eventual heir of Guelders, married in 1409 John II Lord of Egmont (ancestor of that Count Lamoral of Egmont, whose tragic execution by the Spaniards in 1568 inspired works by Schiller, Goethe, and Beethoven). Their son Arnold succeeded to the dukedom of Guelders, and his daughter Mary married in 1448 James II of Scotland, becoming thereby ancestress to all the later Royal Stewarts and those who descend from them.
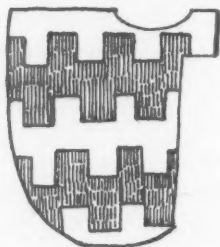
12. Pl. cxxii—*Heren von Cestel*. Arms: *Gules* a chevron *Ermine*. The editors' comment, p. 133, is: 'Nicht das Englische Geschlecht "Castle"' (!)—a prudent though uninstructed negative. There is no reason at all in this place for suspecting an English coat; and there was no well-known English family called Castle in the middle ages.[1] While it has been borne, rarely, in England, as in France, it is most widely known and met with in medieval times as that of the West Flemish family of Ghistelles, near Ostend. It is recorded in the Navarre, no. 1177, and in our own Walford's Roll, no. 92, ed. 1864 (*Archaeologia*), and in numerous other places.

13. Pl. lxvii b—*Grauff von Margk*, i.e. the Earl of March. Arms: A perfectly recognizable if not quite normally drawn rendering of the Wigmore-Mortimer shield. This distinctive coat must be well known to continental armorists if only as the sole competitor of the Pressigny arms for intricacy of blazon.
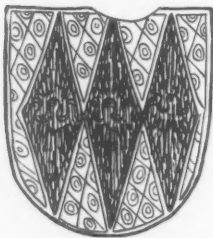
14. Pl. lxxvii—*Grauff von Salczbegg*. Arms: *Argent* three fusils conjoined in fess *Gules* (to use the text-book style). Really *Argent* a fess engrailed *Gules*; but the engrailing is of such generous proportions as to reach the boundaries of the escutcheon, and to some extent disguise the identity of the coat. It can hardly be anything else than for the Montagu Earls of Salisbury. The editors may well be excused for being baffled here: the entry follows one for Roussillon and is accompanied by Dammartin and French Harcourt. No continental Salzberg, Salzburg, Salzbach, or Salzbeck meets the case.

15. Pl. lxxxiiii—*Grauff von Firemberg Her zu Neuwenar vnd zuo Saffenberg*. Arms: Quarterly *Or* seven lozenges *Gules* (in two rows, four and three, i.e. two bars engrailed); and *Or* an eagle *Sable*; over all an escutcheon *Sable* an eagle *Argent*. The first and fourth are for

[1] Though it would be no less wide of the mark, the old Cornish family of Kestell would have been a better shot.

Virneburg, the second and third for Neuenahr. It is less easy than in the preceding case to account for the editors' failure to provide correct information here. 'Firemberg' is not so immediately perspicuous even to a German reader as not to call for a note of the spelling of to-day, as is given in many other cases far less obscure. Virneburg is in the Eifel country, about twenty miles west of Coblenz; Neuenahr is about the same distance north of Virneburg, on the river Ahr. The Virneburg coat is of common occurrence, and of a distinctive pattern typical of Rhineland heraldry. Others of this armorial group, with various tinctures, are Mansfeld, Bornheim, Muynriaen, and the Cologne families Beneses and Geisbusch.
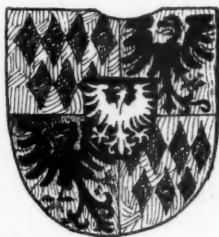
The above points, it will be seen, are, with the exception of the last, concerned with arms other than German, though even among those several have relation to the medieval empire. The purely German entries in this armorial—and they form by far the majority—have been, as far as a foreigner can judge, adequately handled by the editors. They have grappled efficiently with what must always be the chief problem of an editor of a medieval roll of arms, the rectification of obscure and corrupt place-names, though they seem to have done so without accepting much assistance from the principal contents of the document, the heraldry. An American critic, once regarded as an authority, has written to me that this edition is not in his view a good one. This is, seemingly, on the ground that it does not incorporate comprehensive epitomes of the family history and genealogy of the families represented by the arms. But that class of information can be got from other known sources. Its inclusion here, though of use, could not compensate for the absence of heraldic comment and assistance; an apt example of which is furnished by the recent admired edition of the Zürich Roll with its very copious genealogical information but almost no heraldic notes. A juster criticism of this Grünenberg edition is that it is as nearly as possible destitute of competent heraldic treatment. If that is not accorded in the commentary on a purely heraldic document, there is no other place where an inquirer could confidently look for it; there would be no room for such a discussion in the heraldic field. The inference to which the reader inclines is that when Stillfried-Alcántara and Hildebrandt undertook the editing of this piece of heraldry, they were insufficiently acquainted with medieval coats of arms in general and not interested in them enough to investigate them further, like many of their kind. They could not, often, recognize a well-known arms when they had it in front of them, nor call it to mind at need. There are no cross-references in their notes between the two occurrences of the Les Baux coat, of the Harcourt coat, of the possible Morea coat, to go no farther than

the dozen instances given above. The reader is left to flounder for these relations in an incomprehensibly ill-arranged sequence of notes, and trust to his own memory for what is not supplied by the index. The resources of reference in heraldry were, certainly, less ample in 1875 than now: the Sicile, Vermandois, and Montjoie rolls quoted above, valuable, or invaluable, as they are for identifying unique coats, are even yet generally inaccessible. But the editors did not make thorough use of the resources that they had. Transcripts of most of our chief medieval rolls were by then available, and also Papworth. These would have helped them over the Mortimer and Montagu-Salisbury coats; our Grimaldi roll they do quote, under the carelessly inaccurate title of 'Grindle', but not for the Morea recercely cross. It is hardly credible that they deliberately refrain throughout their work from blazoning the coats in words. It would be difficult to find another case of a reproduction of a painted roll accompanied by notes that did not also contain at least the full blazon of every entry. Editors, who give little more, could hardly give less. So the reader is left without guidance, not only for the recognized native way of regarding the anomalous and outlandish partitionings characteristic of German coats, but also for the right names and even the identity of certain obscure charges in their arms. Yet the German language, although it has, unlike the Anglo-French, inherited no tradition of a technical vocabulary, is, with its special facility for devising compact and acceptable word-compounds, which would sound ridiculous in English, peculiarly fitted to create a concise and unambiguous blazon. Grünenberg's reach to the very corners of Europe would make it impossible for anything but an international symposium of armorists to expound the more remote coats, especially in the absence of any written body of medieval heraldry for Italy or the Spanish Peninsula. Many of his fantasies, mythical and other, may have to remain unsolved for all time.

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[1] *Cat*
[2] *Isca*
[3] Gib
xi, 1911

The Mortaria of Margidunum and their Development from A.D. 50 to 400

By Felix Oswald

The difficulty of accurately dating the vessels known as 'mortaria' has often been felt by excavators, and Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox has done a great service in his classification of mortaria rims, admirably illustrated in his First Report of the Wroxeter excavations in 1912 (Soc. Ant. Lond. 1913, figs. 19 and 20); but he himself stated (p. 76) that 'one of the chief difficulties has been the lack of any publication in which a sufficient number of specimens has been brought together showing clearly the different types and their variations'. Even his series did not begin earlier than Vespasian; at Margidunum, however, I found examples from the Claudian occupation (A.D. 48) down to the end of the fourth century, and this site therefore has furnished a continuous series of a large number of examples from datable layers, many of them stamped with potters' names, illustrating the changes in development of this vessel during a period of 350 years.

The use of the term 'mortarium' has become so firmly established that it is perhaps too late in the day to consider replacing it by the more non-committal word 'pelvis'. For it has never been convincingly demonstrated that these vessels were used as mortars for pounding and triturating grain, pulse, or vegetables. No pestle has ever been found in association with them, and indeed in the vast majority of cases the ware is too breakable or its walls too thin to be put to such violent usage. Long ago C. Roach Smith[1] expressed the opinion that 'the term mortarium is not, however, a strictly correct designation of these pans as they are too thin to be applied to the usual purposes of a mortar. They are frequently found with the bottoms worn or burnt away.' At Margidunum, indeed, I found a mortarium in which the broken and perforated base had been filled up by a thick mass of lead (poured in when molten); and J. E. Lee[2] has recorded an instance at Caerleon of a mortarium that had been repaired by a rivet of lead wire; and at Poltross Burn a mortarium was found that 'had been broken and repaired by rivetting'.[3] Such repaired vessels could not have been used as mortars.

On the other hand, Allmer and Dissard[4] stated that the use of these *terrines* 'is not yet well determined. The opinion that is most generally admitted is that they are bowls (*jattes*) for curding milk' and making

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[1] *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, 1854, 14.
[2] *Isca Silurum*, London 1862, p. 38 and plate xxi, 6.
[3] Gibson, J. R., and Simpson, F. G., 'Milecastle at Poltross Burn', *C. & W. A. S.* n.s. xi, 1911, 449 and plate iv, 3.   [4] *Trion*, Lyon 1888, 318.

cream cheese. More recently M. Hénault,[1] director of the museum of Bavay, and the archaeologist H. Simon[2] have definitely supported this suggestion, pointing out also that the relatively thin walls of these vessels could not resist either the shock or pressure of a pestle and that the presence of a spout could not be justified for bruised and pounded material. Hénault also asserts that modern milk-bowls in the Bavay district are exact reproductions of the Roman *pelves* and are used for curding milk. Simon is likewise of opinion that milk curds more readily in a vessel with a rough internal surface than if the surface is smooth, and that this reaction is probably caused by the retention of the necessary bacteria in the rugosities of the vessel. The presence and retention of these curding bacteria in the rough surface of the vessel avoids the necessity of adding fresh rennet (or fresh whey as a substitute for rennet) on each attempt of curding milk, when by heating the milk to a temperature of 80 to 95 degrees Fahrenheit it solidifies into curd. The function of the spout of the pelvis is to enable the whey (escaping from the curd when cut and heated) to be readily decanted from the bowl, leaving the curd behind. Since heat assists the process of drainage of whey from curd, it is noteworthy that many mortaria show signs of heat on their exterior. Marteaux and Le Roux[3] also point out the close similarity between the Roman mortarium (*la jatte romaine*) and the milk-bowl of Savoy (*la conche savoyarde*), which is used for curding milk, and therefore consider that the mortarium served the same purpose, and that the interior, being subjected to frequent washing, required to be fortified with grit.

Now, although the majority of mortaria from excavated Roman sites are characterized by grit embedded in the interior of the vessel and rigidly secured by baking in the kiln, the earliest specimens are found to be scored by fine horizontal furrows or comb-markings and without embedded grit.

In the earliest known types of mortarium such as the Augusto-Tiberian type 59 of Haltern[4] the interior shows no special insertion of grit, but the clay is very sandy and the surface is therefore finely granular. This type, with nearly vertical sides, still occurs, though rarely, at Claudian Hofheim,[5] but with the modifications that the rim is more oblique and has a thickened lip, and the interior (also sandy) is characterized by numerous horizontal rills or combed striae and in one case is also permeated by fine quartz grains; in another case the outer wall just below the lip is also rilled.

Although the actual form of this type (Ritterling 79) is not present

[1] *Pro Nervia*, Avesnes 1923, tome i, 45.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 1925, tome ii, 190.　　　　　　[3] *Boutae*, Annécy 1913, 431.
[4] Loeschcke, S., 'Keramische Funde in Haltern', *Mitt. d. Altertums-Kommission f. Westfalen*, V, Münster 1909, p. 242, Taf. XII, 59.
[5] Ritterling, E., *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim*, Wiesbaden 1913, 308 and Taf. xxxv, 79, 80.

at Margidunum, the rilling of its interior and of the flange is present (nos. 1–3) as well as the finely granular texture. In nos. 1 and 2 the small spout is similar to the spout on Ritterling's type 79; and another point of resemblance between this type and these Claudian mortaria of Margidunum is the hard red ware and in one case (no. 1) the blue-grey core and white coating. Nos. 4–6 show a very similar technique of rilling and heavy hooked rims and may be dated to the Nero period; these were all made by ALBINVS but with different stamps. He often used the additional stamp F LVGVDV, as in many examples from London in the Guildhall Museum; no. 12 with the stamp F LV]GVDV may therefore be attributed to ALBINVS. This stamp has usually been considered to indicate Lyons (LVGDVNVM), but I cannot find any record of his stamps from this locality and it is not improbable that LVGVDVNVM BATAVORVM (Leyden) was the actual site of manufacture of these mortaria. Bowls by ALBINVS continued into the Vespasian period, as at Newstead (the stamps F LVGVDV on fig. 35, 5 and 6 are probably his), still with the heavy hooked flange, but the outer surface of the flange is no longer rilled.

Similar rilled bowls with the same technique (nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13) from Margidunum all belong to the Claudius–Nero period, as shown by their occurrence just above Claudian paving or by their association with Terra Sigillata of this date. Two such examples (nos. 7 and 8) already display the flatter rim which is continued into the Vespasian period, as at Hardknot and Wroxeter. But most of these rilled mortaria at Margidunum have the heavy, hooked flange, and one example with the stamp DEVAI (no. 11) was found also at Castor,[1] Colchester, and London (British Museum).

Mortaria of similar contour with the stamp SECVNDVS F (nos. 14 and 15), but without rilling and coated internally with the black grit that became so usual in later examples, are attributable by their provenance to the Vespasian period though they may be survivals from Nero's reign, for they show much sign of wear and are reddened by fire. The same stamp occurs at Wroxeter, Silchester, and London (British Museum and Guildhall Museum), as well as at Boutae near Vienne, so that his mortaria may possibly have been manufactured in France and imported into Britain. The ware has no longer the hard red character of the early Claudian mortaria but is buff in colour with a rough matt surface. Mortaria with rilling and a heavy hooked flange (nos. 16–21) still occur sometimes in Vespasianic layers, but are probably survivals from the Nero period; in these some quartz grit is present in addition to the rilling, occurring also on the flange, and even on the exterior in no. 19 stamped MANIIRTI, so that the quartz was probably merely a component ingredient throughout the clay.

[1] Artis, E. T., *Durobrivae*, London 1828, xlvi, 4.

The stamp MANERTI occurs on a mortarium at Caerleon,[1] where it is certainly of Vespasian date. 'Rough horizontal striation on interior' is recorded on a mortarium stamped MATVGENV and also on one stamped Q. VA. SE from London,[2] both of Nero–Vespasian age. But in the Vespasian period the flange is already becoming flatter, lighter, and less hooked (nos. 23–6), the spout is larger, and rilling is quite exceptional.

Towards the end of the first century, in Domitian times, this tendency is more pronounced (nos. 27–35); stamps are more frequent. The stamp SVB (on no. 28) occurs on a clay stamp at Corbridge[3] and SV (retro) at Newstead (no. 25 on fig. 35), where the date is left uncertain. The Margidunum example occurs twice and seems, from its provenance, to be certainly Domitianic. In the mortaria nos. 30, 32–5, the moulding is already descending to a level below the top of the flange, which is becoming still flatter, and they can be regarded as Domitianic. No. 31, however, by its contour and position seems to be Vespasianic. No. 30 with the double stamp DIIRTVS (retro) and black grit on the moulding is probably Domitianic. The stamp GRACILIS on no. 33 occurs also at London (Guildhall Museum) and at Richborough,[4] whilst the stamp GRATIAN on nos. 34 and 35 is represented at Newstead (fig. 35, nos. 10 and 11). The internal moulding descends still lower during the Domitian period as in nos. 36 and 37, whilst no. 38 with the stamp CANDIDVS (retro) closely resembles a Domitianic mortarium at Gellygaer.[5] The stamp was also found in London (Guildhall Museum) and at Arentsburg (CANDIDVS MF).[6]

No. 39 is a little later in date, the moulding being at a still lower level; it is stamped IVNIVS in good letters; it may be of Trajanic age. No. 40 with an imperfect stamp, possibly DI]IRTI (retro), has a very similar contour; the moulding is at a low level, but the flange is more hooked. Although it has a Domitianic appearance, it is more probable, considering its provenance, that it is Vespasianic, since it occurred below the Vespasian paving behind the south rampart. Perhaps it was made by the Vespasianic potter DERTVS, the maker of no. 30.

The stamp SARRI that occurs on nos. 41 and 42 is regarded by Birley[7] as Antonine, for it is found in forts on the Antonine Wall, viz. Bar Hill, Balmuildy, and Rough Castle; it was found also at Birrens, Newstead (in the Antonine period), Camelon, and Ardoch,

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[1] Nash-Williams, V. E., *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1931, fig. 58, no. 217.
[2] Walters, H. B., *Catal. of Roman Pottery*, M 2788 and 2809.
[3] *Corstopitum, 1911 Report*, 58, fig. 14.
[4] *Report I*, pl. xxvii, no. 93.
[5] Ward, J., *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*, London 1903, plate xi, 1.
[6] Holwerda, J. H., *Arentsburg*, Leiden 1923, lxv, 4.
[7] Birley, E., 'Excavations at Birrens', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* lxxii (1937–8), 310.

as well as at Aldborough, Lanchester, Corbridge, Wilderspool, and Hartshill (Warwickshire), a remarkably wide distribution. The good lettering, however, suggests that the potter might have worked in Hadrian-Antonine times, say A.D. 125–35. In no. 41 the mouth of the spout has been broken off, disclosing the deep scoring made in the flange so as to facilitate the attachment of the spout.

Nos. 43 and 44 occur in Antonine layers and are both stamped IVNIVS F, doubly stamped in the case of no. 44. At this time the moulding has risen again to the level of the flange. In no. 45 (stamped LOCCIVS, retro) and no. 46 the flange has become thicker and more squat. But a larger arched flange, typical of Antonine mortaria, still occurs, e.g. no. 47 in a late layer, and no. 48 with a fragmentary stamp DI[. . ., which may perhaps be intended for DIIRTVS, though it certainly differs from the earlier retrograde stamp DIIRTVS on no. 30. No. 49 with a flatter flange and the double stamp of NASO is also definitely Antonine, for it was present in the dump of Antonine pottery on the Antonine floor of the Schola. The somewhat aberrant no. 50 may also be regarded as Antonine with a more flattened and extended flange and a somewhat problematical stamp which may be read VÂN. The tendency for the flange to show a median swelling is carried still further in no. 52 stamped SENN (for SENNIVS), which was associated with Antonine pottery. The same stamp occurred at Templebrough[1] and Carlisle.[2]

Nos. 53–6 may be ascribed to the late Antonine period, or latter third of the second century; in these the flange is becoming flattened and drooping downwards. No. 57 was definitely of third-century date, for it occurred just above the third-century paving in the east field behind the south-east rampart.

In the third century two divergent and contemporaneous lines of evolution arise in the development of mortaria. In one direction the moulding becomes higher, projecting well above the flange, which gradually extends horizontally outwards (nos. 58–70). In its later members (nos. 68–70) belonging to the fourth century this horizontal or nearly horizontal flange becomes reeded, i.e. divided into a number of ridges, and this characteristic is most marked in well-dated examples from the floor of the late house (in the west part of Margidunum),[3] where they are associated with a coin of Valens in mint condition, c. A.D. 370. The spout is reduced to a mere finger-impression across the moulding (no. 67).

The other line of development proceeds from the smooth, flattened flange of nos. 71 and 72, still with a well-fashioned spout and belonging to the late second century. The flange bends down more and

[1] May, T., *The Roman Forts of Templebrough*, Rotherham 1922, xxxviii, 11.
[2] May, T. and Hope, L. E., *Catal. Roman Pottery in the Museum, Carlisle*, 1916, xvii, 2.
[3] Oswald, F., 'Margidunum', *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxi (1941), 44 and fig. 16, 1–6.

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more obliquely (nos. 73–97) and becomes reeded in the third century (nos. 74 and 75, associated with third-century pottery); and the reeding often becomes very pronounced as in no. 93 in the fourth century. The spout is again reduced to a mere finger-impression (nos. 80, 83).

Red or orange bands on the flange become prevalent. Already present near the spout in no. 72 in the late second century, they are frequent in the typical hammer-head mortaria of the fourth century, e.g. in no. 84 from the floor of the late house and in nos. 93–7 from the uppermost layers, associated with fourth-century pottery.

Finally, the flange becomes a vertical collar attached to small bowls of the late fourth century, nos. 98 and 99 from the uppermost layers, as at Wroxeter,[1] Huntcliff, and Scarborough.[2]

It may be mentioned that all mortaria found by me at Margidunum are now exhibited in the Margidunum Collection at University College, Nottingham.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE FIGURES

Figure 1

1. Ditch 2 (N. ditch of *Via Principalis*) (D 21, 3 ft.).[3] Red ware with blue-grey core in its thickest part. Traces of white coating on outer surface. Fine rilling internally and on flange; no grit; oblique striation on inner side of moulding. Similar to Ritterling 80B and fig. 78 at Hofheim, but flange less sharply incurved; rilling as in Ritterling 79. Claudian.

2. Ditch 4 (N. ditch of *Via Quintana*) (G 5, 3 ft.). Hard red ware. Rilling internally and on flange; a little fine grit in lower part; oblique striation on inner side of moulding. Claudian.

3. Under S. rampart (F 50, 3 ft.). Reddish buff ware. Projecting spout. Rilling internally and on flange; some fine grit internally and on flange. Claudian.

4. Well Δ, in its stone lining (F 45, 4 ft.), behind S. rampart. Drab ware. Rilling internally; no grit. Stamped ALBINVƧ. Nero.

5. Ditch 4 (N. ditch of *Via Quintana*) (G 31, 3 ft.). Buff cortex with reddish-brown core. Rilling internally; no grit. Stamped ALBINVS with chevron border. Nero.

6. Clay-sealed Vespasian dump (S. of *Via Principalis*) (F 74, 4 ft.). Rough yellowish buff ware. Rilling internally; only a little grit on the flange. Spout larger than on nos. 1 and 3. Stamped ALBINVS FE. Nero.

Figure 2

7. Under Vespasian paving and above Claudian paving, S. side of Commandant's house (G 4, 2½ ft.). Cream ware. Rilling internally with some quartz granules. Associated with Nero-Vespasian pottery. Cp. B-F 18.[4] Nero.

[1] *Report I*, 80, type B-F 222.

[2] Hull, M. R., 'The Pottery from the Roman Signal-stations on the Yorkshire coast', *Arch. Journ.*, London 1933, lxxxix, 234, type 10.

[3] These numbered references in brackets give the numbered 6-foot squares on my plans of my excavations of Margidunum.

[4] The abbreviation B-F refers to the types figured by J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter Report I*.
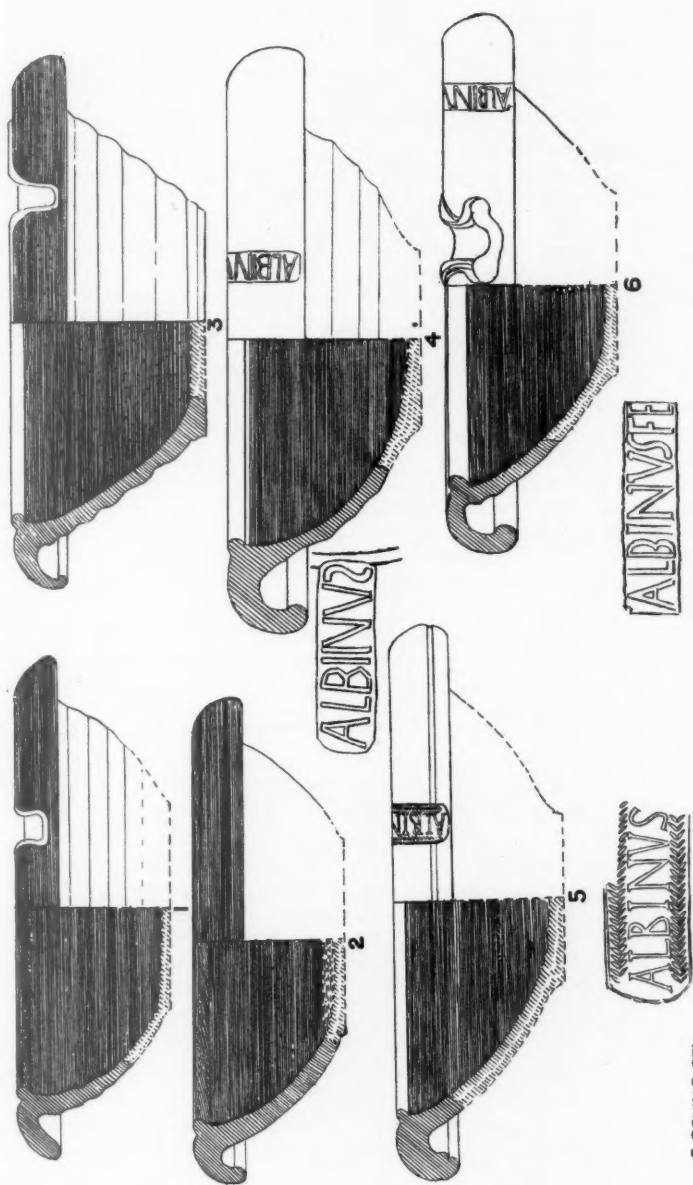
F. OSWALD DEL.

Fig. 1. (¼: potter's stamps ½)

8. Ditch Z (passing obliquely under S. rampart from ditch 6 to S. outer ditch 1), 3 ft. Grey ware with red cortex and white coating on rim and exterior. Rilling internally; no grit; much worn. Associated with Claudius–Nero pottery. Nero.

9. Ditch Z, 3 ft. Buff ware, blackened and corroded by fire. Associated with Claudius–Nero pottery. Nero.

10. Clay-sealed Vespasian dump (S. of *Via Principalis*) (F 72, 2½ ft.). Rough, pale greyish buff ware. Rilling internally; quartz grit only in uppermost part. Cp. B-F 34. Nero.

11. Under Vespasian paving and above Claudian paving, inside Commandant's house (J 81, 1¾ ft.). Associated with a coin of Vespasian, minted A.D. 71. Light brown ware; rough surface. Rilling internally and granular, with very fine grit and sparse quartz granules. Stamped DEVΛI, as at Castor (Artis, *Durobrivae*, xlvi, 4), Colchester, and London. Nero–Vespasian.

12. S. Outer Ditch V, near spring, 3 ft. Coarse buff ware. Rilling internally and granular; with fine quartz grains both inside and sparingly on the flange. Stamped F LV]GVDV, a stamp used by ALBINVS (cp. no. 4). Nero–Vespasian.

13. In ashes and charcoal overlying basal Claudian sand, just S. of ditch 5 (S. ditch of *Via Quintana*) (F 25, 2½ ft.). Greyish buff ware, rough surface. Rilling internally; some very fine black grit; much worn. Nero–Vespasian.

14. Ditch 4 (N. ditch of *Via Quintana*) (G 9, 3¼ ft.). Pale buff ware, rough surface, reddened by fire on one side, worn in the centre, which is broken; black grit. Stamped SECVNDVS F. Associated with Claudius–Nero pottery. Nero–Vespasian.

15. Above Vespasian paving behind S. rampart (H 48, 2 ft.). Buff ware, rough surface, reddened on outside by fire; much weathered; black grit, mostly fallen out in interior but some still on flange. Stamped SECVNDVS F with chevron border, as on no. 14. A survival. Nero–Vespasian.

Figure 3

16. Under Vespasian paving, behind S. rampart (H 70, 2½ ft.). Pale buff ware; rough surface. Rilling internally; much worn; sparse quartz grit, some on the rim. Nero.

17. Clay-sealed Vespasian dump, just S. of *Via Principalis* (F 4, 2½ ft.). Coarse grey ware, buff cortex. Rilling internally below a smooth zone; sparse quartz grit, which has mostly fallen out by wear; a little grit on moulding and flange. Nero.

18. S. outer ditch V, 3 ft. Cream ware; corroded surface; red and black grit. Cp. B-F 34. Vespasian.

19. Clay-sealed Vespasian dump, just S. of *Via Principalis* (F 76, 3 ft.). Coarse, pale brown ware. Rilling internally; very sparse quartz grains, some on the flange and exterior; much worn, with grit fallen out and rilling obscured. Stamped MANIIRTI as at Caerleon. Nero–Vespasian.

20. Ditch 12, on N. side of Commandant's house, 2½ ft. Grey ware with buff cortex. Rilling internally; sparse small quartz grains, some on the flange. Nero–Vespasian.
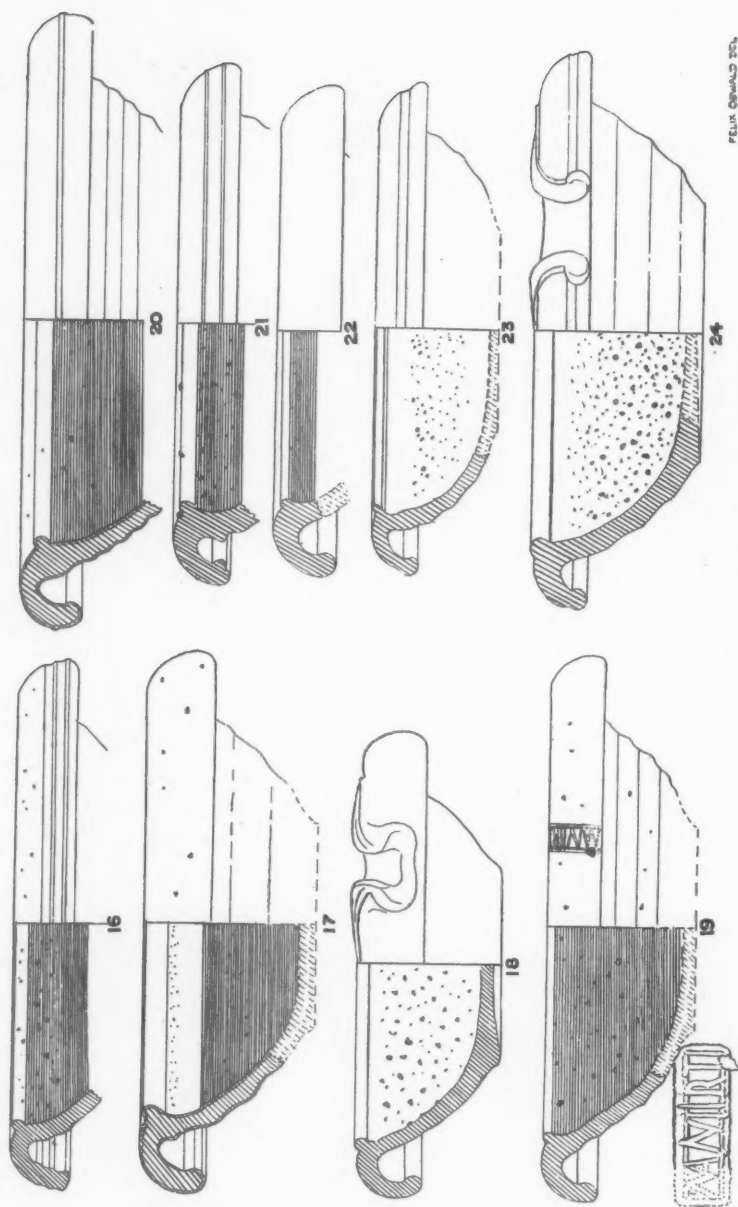
21. Ditch 9, 3½ ft. Rough buff ware. Slightly rilled internally; sparse quartz grains, some on the moulding. Nero–Vespasian.

22. S. outer ditch V, pond, 3½ ft. Rough, greyish buff ware, buff cortex. Rilling internally; sparse quartz grains. Nero–Vespasian.
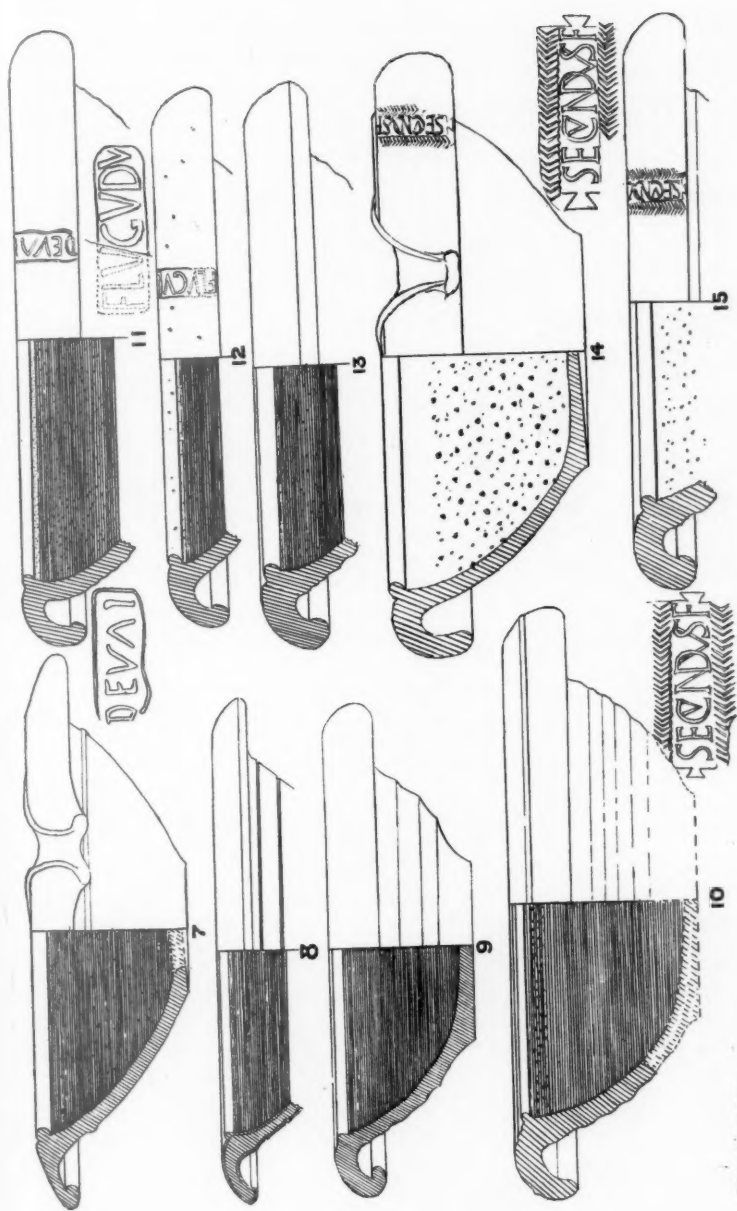
FIG. 2. ($\frac{1}{4}$: potter's stamps $\frac{1}{1}$)

FELIX OSWALD DEL.

Fig. 3. (⅓: potter's stamp ½)

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23. Under Vespasian paving and over Claudian basal sand, behind S. rampart (F 50, 3 ft.). Drab ware; sparse brown grit. Nero–Vespasian.

24. Ditch 13, N. side of Commandant's house (J 52, 3½ ft.). Pale buff ware; black grit, crowded towards the base. Cp. B-F 22. Vespasianic.

Figure 4

25. Pit Z, behind S. rampart (H 125, 5 ft.). Cream ware; sparse quartz grains. Surface much corroded. Vespasianic.

26. Above Vespasian paving behind SW. rampart (B 6, 2½ ft.). Rough, orange buff ware; black grit. Associated with Vespasianic pottery. Vespasianic.

27. S. outer ditch V, 1 ft. Pinkish cream ware. Cp. B-F 58 at Corbridge. Domitianic.

28. Above Vespasian paving behind S. rampart (H 59, 1½ ft.). Cream ware; black and brown grit. Stamped SVB. Associated with Antonine pottery, but probably a survival. Cp. B-F 22. Clay stamp SVB at Corbridge (1911 report, 58). SV retro. at Newstead (fig. 35, 25). The same stamp SVB occurred on a similar mortarium above the Vespasian paving behind S. rampart (H 29, 1¼ ft.), associated with Domitianic pottery. Domitianic.

29. Below Vespasianic paving and above Claudian basal sand on S. side of Commandant's house (J 64, 2½ ft.). Pale buff ware; sparse brown grit. Vespasianic.

30. S. outer ditch V, 2½ ft. Buff ware; sparse black grit on the moulding. Twice stamped DIIRTVS (retro). Cp. B-F 54. Domitianic.

31. Ditch 9, 3 ft. Cream ware, black grit. Cp. B-F 18. Vespasianic (by its position).

32. S. outer ditch V, pond, 3 ft. Cream ware, much corroded on exterior and on flange; black grit. Remnant of frame of stamp. Cp. B-F 54. Domitianic.

33. Ditch 3 (S. ditch of *Via Principalis*) (D 17, 2 ft.). Cream ware; black grit. No sign of use or wear. Stamped GRA]CILIS (retro); part of flange flaked off. Domitianic.

34. Ditch 14, 2 ft. Cream ware; red grit. Stamped G]RATIAN, as at Newstead (P. 266, nos. 2, 10, 11). Domitian–Trajan.

35. In late gravel above Schola, 1½ ft. Cream ware. Stamped G]RATIAN. Associated with fourth-century pottery, but evidently a survival. Domitian–Trajan.

Figure 5

36. On razed S. rampart (F 51, 3 ft.). Greyish buff ware, buff cortex. Sparse quartz grains just below the moulding. Cp. B-F 46. Domitianic.

37. S. outer ditch V, Pond, 3 ft. Cream to pale buff ware; quartz grains. Cp. B-F 42. Domitianic.

38. Ditch 3 (S. ditch of *Via Principalis*), 3 ft. Light brown ware; black and brown grit, and some quartz grains. Stamped CANDIDVS (retro). Cp. Ward, *Gellygaer*, xi, 1 and B-F 46. Domitianic.

39. Ditch 1 (N. ditch of *Via Principalis*) (D 114, 2½ ft.). Cream ware; black grit. Stamped IVNIVS, partly scaled off. Domitianic.

40. Below Flavian paving and above Claudian paving behind S. rampart (F 43, 2½ ft.). Cream ware; sparse brown grit. Stamped DI]IRTI (retro). Domitianic.
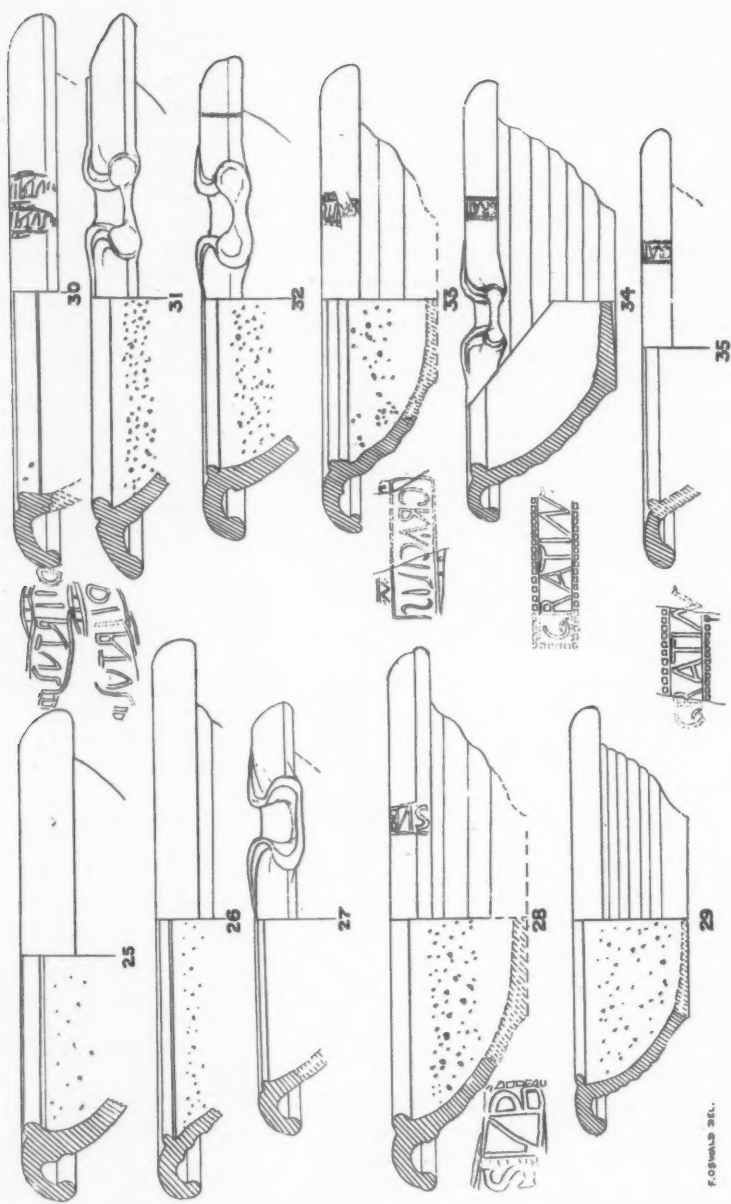
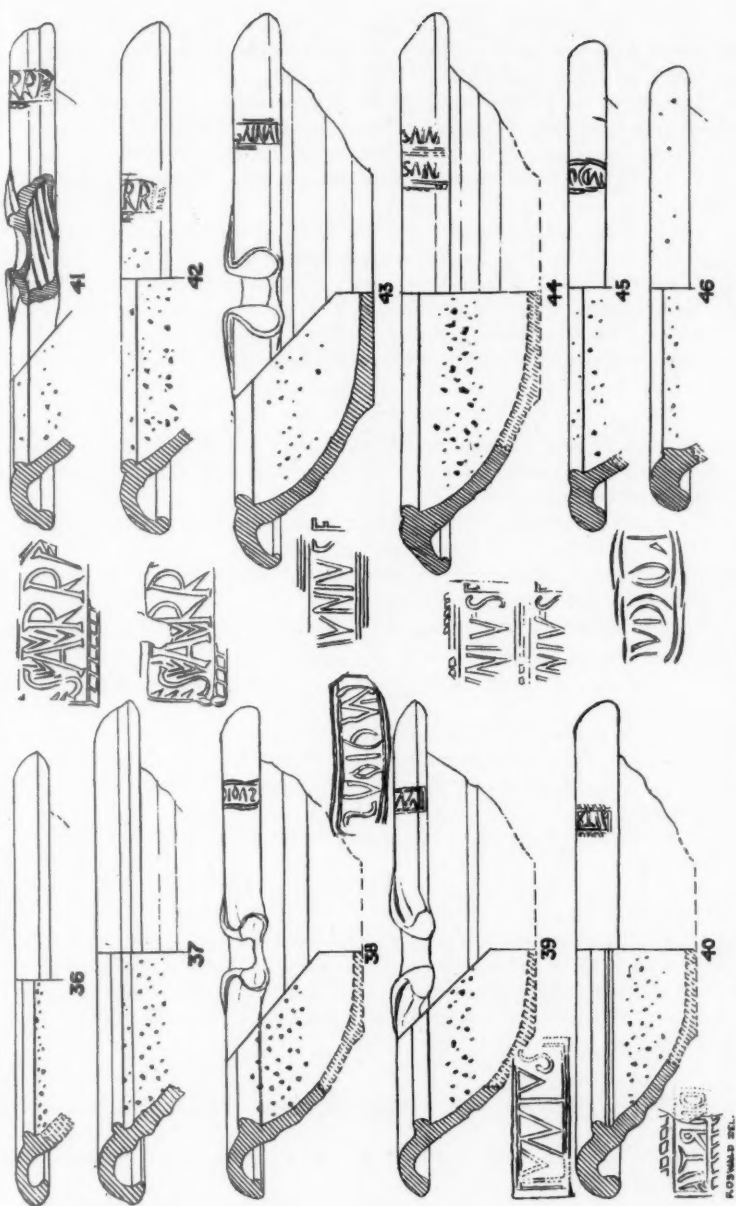Fig. 4. '(⅓: potter's stamps ⅓)

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FIG. 5. ($\frac{1}{3}$: potter's stamps $\frac{1}{1}$)

41. Ditch 1 (N. ditch of *Via Principalis*). Cream ware; end of spout broken off, disclosing deep scoring of the flange to facilitate the attachment of the spout. Sparse brown grit. Stamped SARRI. Hadrian–Antonine.

42. S. outer ditch V (trench I), 3¼ ft. Cream ware; brown grit, some on moulding. Stamped SARRI (slightly different to no. 41). Hadrian–Antonine.

43. Above Vespasian paving and below Antonine gravel, behind S. rampart (H 117, 1½ ft.). Cream ware; sparse brown grit. Stamped IVNIVS F. Antonine.

44. Above Vespasian paving and in Antonine layer, behind S. rampart (H 123, 1 ft.). Buff ware; black grit. Doubly stamped IVNIVS F as in no. 43. Antonine.

45. S. outer ditch V, 3 ft. Cream ware, matt surface; black grit, some on moulding. Stamped LOCCIVS (retro). Cp. B-F 54, but later. Antonine.

46. Above Vespasian paving and in Antonine layer, behind S. rampart (H 93, 1½ ft.). Buff ware; sparse black grit, some on the flange. Cp. B-F 78. Antonine.

Figure 6

47. Above Antonine layer behind SW. rampart (AC 1½ ft.). Buff ware; red grit. Antonine, but a survival, for it is associated with third-century pottery and a coin of Claudius Gothicus.

48. On razed S. rampart (F 51, 3 ft.). Cream ware; red grit. Fragmentary stamp DI[. . . , perhaps DIIRTVS, cp. no. 30. Antonine.

49. In Antonine dump in Schola. Buff ware, light brown on flange; black grit. Doubly stamped NASO. Antonine.

50. S. outer ditch V, near spring, 2 ft. Cream ware; black grit, some on moulding and flange. Stamped VAN rather faintly. Cp. B-F 70. Antonine.

51. Ditch 14, 2 ft. Cream ware; black grit, some on flange. Cp. B-F 70. Antonine.

52. Above Vespasian paving behind SW. rampart (C 7, 1½ ft.). Stamped SENN[IVS. Associated with Antonine pottery. Cp. B-F 90. Late Antonine.

53. Ditch 9, upper part, 2 ft. Cream ware; sparse black grit. Cp. B-F 86. Late Antonine.

54. S. outer ditch V, pond, 3 ft. Cream ware; black grit. Cp. B-F 102. Late Antonine.

55. S. outer ditch V, pond, 3 ft. White ware; fine brown grit, some on exterior. Cp. B-F 114. Late Antonine.

56. In Antonine layer above Vespasian layer, behind S. rampart (H 102, 1½ ft.). Cream ware; fine black and brown grit. Cp. B-F 114. Late Antonine.

57. On third-century paving behind SE. rampart, E. field (A 117, 2 ft.). Cream ware; abundant black grit, some on moulding. Cp. B-F 114. Early third century.

Figure 7

58. Ditch 8 (G 78, 3 ft.). Cream ware; fine black grit. Cp. B-F 106. Early third century.

59. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Grey core with red cortex; cream wash; black grit. Third century.

60. In late brown earth above Vespasian layer, behind S. rampart (H 68, 1½ ft.). Coarse red ware, black on flange and upper surface; fine black grit. Cp. B-F 122. Third century.

61. S. outer ditch IV (F 67, 2½ ft.). Pale buff ware; cream wash; abundant

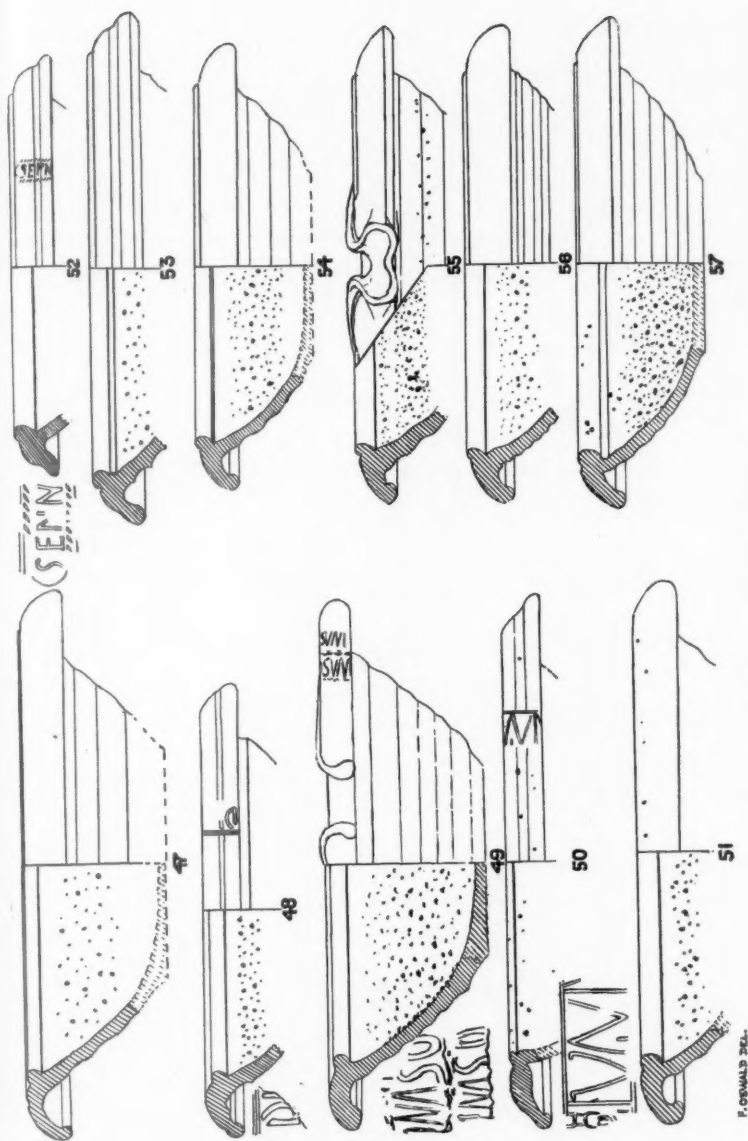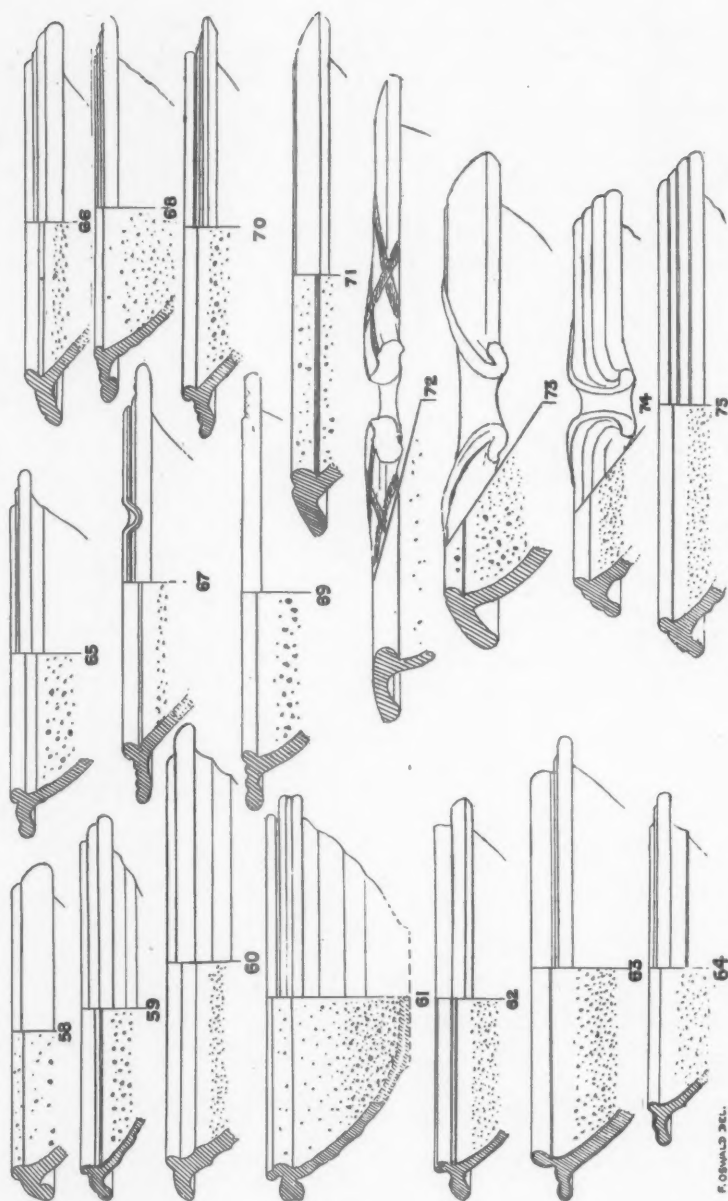FIG. 6. ($\frac{1}{4}$: potter's stamps $\frac{1}{1}$)

Fig. 7. (¼)

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fine brown grit and quartz granules, sparingly present on the moulding. Cp. B-F 150. End of third century.

62. S. outer ditch V, above late gravel. Grey core with reddish cortex; white wash; fine quartz grains. Mid-fourth century.

63. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Grey core with red cortex; cream wash; black grit. Mid-fourth century.

64. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Grey core with brown cortex; white wash; fine black grit. Late fourth century.

65. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Grey core with brick red cortex; buff wash; black grit. Mid-fourth century.

66. On floor of late house (G 103, 1½ ft.). Buff ware; black grit. Late fourth century.

67. On floor of late house (G 106, 1½ ft.). Buff ware; black grit. Finger pressed spout. Late fourth century.

68. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Pale buff ware; black grit. Late fourth century.

69. Pool, N. of Baths, 3 ft. Cream ware; black grit. Late fourth century.

70. On floor of late house (G 106, 1½ ft.). Buff ware; white wash; black grit. Late fourth century.

71. Pit K (G 4, 7 ft.). Cream ware; fine black grit, some also on the moulding. Cp. B-F 118. Late second century.

72. Pit M (G 44, 2½ ft.); above clay sealing at 3 ft. Buff ware; sparse black grit; orange colour-bands crossing over by the side of the spout. Late second century.

73. Ditch 8 (G 78, 3 ft.). Pale buff ware; fine brown grit; some on moulding. Late second century.

74. Upper layer above Antonine layer, behind S. rampart (H 59, 1 ft.). Cream ware; passing into orange near the spout; fine black grit. Third century. Cp. Poltross Burn, v, 1 and 2.

75. Uppermost layer behind S. rampart (F 48, 1½ ft.). Cream ware; fine brown grit. Associated with third-century pottery. Late third century.

Figure 8

76. Third-century well R, 3 ft. White ware; fine black grit. Cp. B-F 174, and Poltross Burn, v, 1–3. Late third century.

77. Above third-century paving at 2¼ ft., E. field, behind SE. rampart (A 116, 117, and 129, 2 ft.). White ware; black grit. Late third century.

78. Third-century well R, 2½ ft. White ware with orange coating externally; some umber coating on inside of rim; black grit. Late third century.

79. Pit E (D 47, 2½ ft.) and uppermost layer of ditch 14, 1 ft. Cream ware; black grit. Late third century.

80. On floor of late house (G 102, 1 ft.). Buff ware; corroded and weathered surface; black grit. Late fourth century.

81. Upper layer, ditch 14, 1 ft. White ware; cream coating; fine brown grit. Late third century.

82. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Pale buff ware; fine black grit; some on moulding. Cp. Hull, Scarborough type 9. Fourth century.

83. Above third-century paving, E. field, behind SE. rampart (A 129, 2 ft.). Grey ware; buff coating; black grit. Late third century.
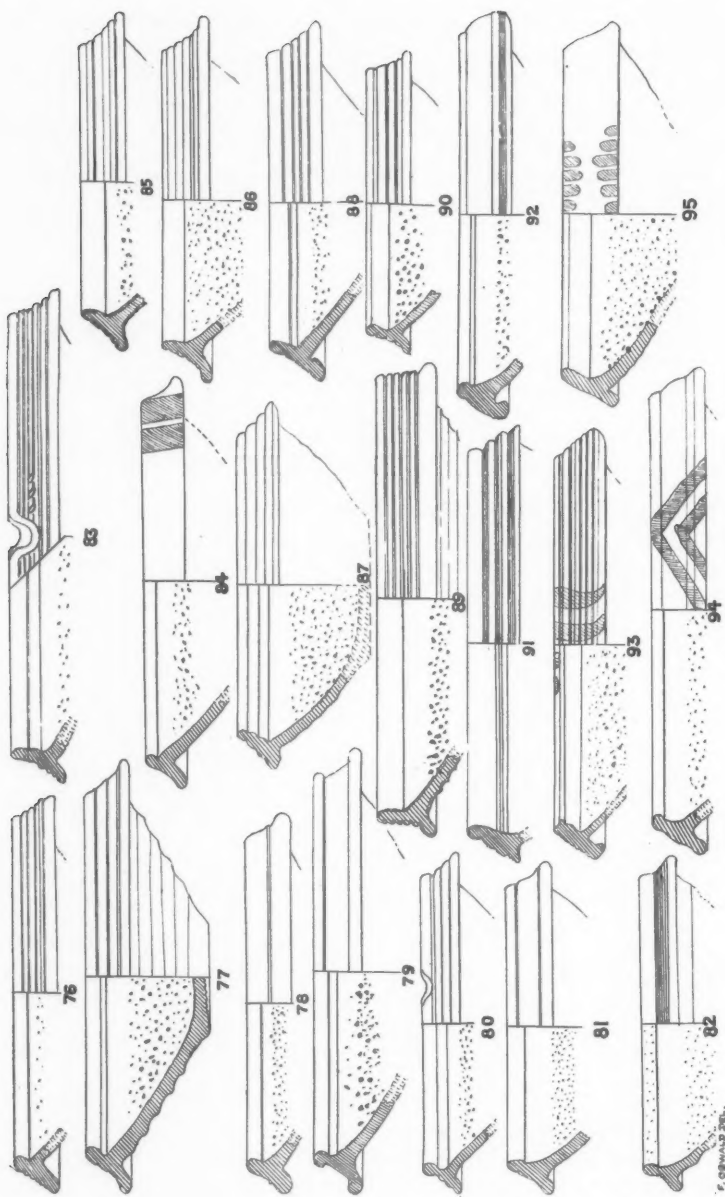
FIG. 8. (¼)

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84. On floor of late house (G 106, 1½ ft.). White ware with red colour-bands; fine black grit. Late fourth century.

85. On floor of late house (G 106, 1½ ft.). Grey ware; brown cortex; white coating; black grit. Late fourth century.

86. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Pale buff, nearly white ware; black grit. Mid-fourth century.

87. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Pale buff ware, darker buff inside; black grit. Mid-fourth century.

88. On floor of late house (G 106, 1½ ft.). Grey ware; brown cortex; white coating; black grit. Late fourth century.

89. On floor of late house (G 106, 1½ ft.). Grey ware; red cortex; white coating; black grit. Late fourth century.

90. Pool, N. of Baths, 2 ft. Cream ware; black grit. Late fourth century.

91. S. outer ditch III (F 62, 3½ ft.). Buff ware, blackened on rim, shading down to pale brown; no grit visible. Early fourth century.

92. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Pale buff ware; sparse black grit. Cp. B-F 180. Fourth century.

93. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Cream ware; orange colour-bands; fine black grit. Fourth century.

94. Pool, N. of Baths, 2 ft. White ware, with red colour-bands; black grit. Fourth century.

95. Uppermost layer above Schola, 1 ft. Pale buff ware; red and black grit. Fourth century.
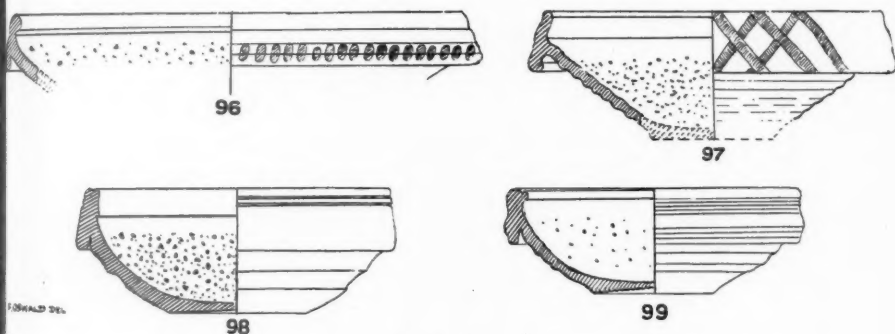

FIG. 9. (¼)

Figure 9

96. Ditch 8 (G 78, 2½ ft.). Cream ware; orange colour-spots on lower part of flange; black grit. Fourth century.

97. Above third-century paving, E. field, 2 ft. Cream ware; orange colour-bands; black grit. Fourth century.

98. Uppermost layer above Antonine clay-sealing of well U (S. of *Via Principalis*), 1 ft. Hard drab ware, with umber coating on outside of collar; abundant black grit. Late fourth century.

99. Uppermost brown earth behind S. rampart (H 58, 1 ft.). Cream ware; sparse grit. Cp. B-F 222 and the later Huntcliff and Scarborough mortaria. Helical markings on base. Late fourth century.

Notes

Plano-convex knife with corn-gloss.—Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., contributes the following:—Mr. F. W. Allen, of Chadwell Heath, Essex, has very kindly allowed me to record a flint implement which is in his possession. This was found in brick-earth on Tonge Hill, near Sittingbourne, Kent, by Mr. S. Williams of Murston, and it consists of a blade of black flint, the dorsum of which is finely worked over the greater part of its surface by means of shallow parallel flaking. The bulbar surface is unworked except for a very few small chips taken off the
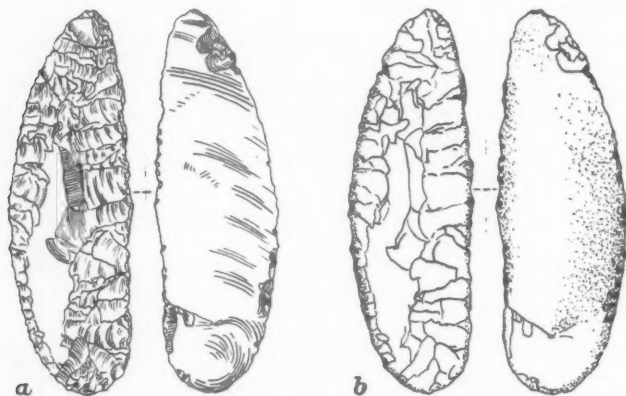
Plano-convex knife with corn-gloss (½). *a*. Form; *b*. Gloss indicated by stippling

more convex edge. The flint thus belongs to the class known as 'plano-convex knives', described by Dr. Grahame Clark in *Antiq. Journ.* xii (1932), 158–62. The dimensions are as follows: length 4·5 in., breadth 1·5 in., maximum thickness 0·35 in. (see fig.). Both ends are rounded, one (the bulbar) being broader than the other, and of the two edges one is decidedly convex, while the other is so slightly convex that for the purpose of description it may be termed 'the straight edge'. The blade is somewhat curved longitudinally, so that the middle of the bulbar surface deviates by about 0·2 in. from a plane that touches both its ends.

The most striking feature of this implement is the presence of gloss resembling the corn-gloss found on flint sickles. This is seen most markedly on the convex edge, but also to a less extent on the straight edge. It affects both surfaces, but on the bulbar surface it extends farther back from the edges, being brightest at the edges and fading gradually towards the centre of the blade. Both edges, especially the convex one, have been rendered soft to the touch by the attrition which has caused the gloss. This lustre can be traced very faintly right up to the bulbar end on both edges, especially the convex. This shows that the bulbar end of the blade was not enclosed and protected in a wooden haft. It is difficult to be certain whether the same is true of the narrower end, but I think that a trace of gloss does extend very faintly as far as the tip, at least on the straight edge.

If this gloss is to be taken as evidence that a flint has been used for cutting corn,[1]

[1] As to this, see *Antiquity*, ix (1935), 62.

grass, or possibly leaves, then the functions of the plano-convex knife included these uses—not necessarily exclusively. If, then, this blade was used for the purpose of a sickle, was it hafted or simply held in the hand? As has been noted, the distribution of the gloss makes it unlikely that either end was covered by a wooden haft, after the manner of the Stenild sickle from Jutland,[1] and if one end had been hafted, the other end (rather than the middle of the blade) would have shown the most gloss. The fact that both edges show gloss, most markedly about their middle portions, would be compatible with the suggestion that the blade might have been hafted twice, each edge in turn having been inserted in a grooved wooden handle, such as were used for mounting the Scandinavian crescentic sickles. I cannot help thinking, however, that this is unlikely, especially in view of the longitudinal curve of the blade, and also of the fact that in the case of the Scandinavian crescents it was the convex edge that was always inserted in the groove. On the whole it seems most probable that this flint was simply held in the hand, sometimes one way round, and sometimes the other, so that both edges came in for use on different occasions. If this were so, this implement could be classified functionally with Steensberg's Danish 'reaping knives', though the actual form is different.[2]

For similar gloss on other flint implements see *Antiq. Journ.* xiv (1934), 389; xvi (1936), 85; *Proc. Preh. Soc.* iv (1938), 33–4; A. W. G. Lowther, *Prehistory of Farnham* (Surrey Arch. Soc.), 156–8, 194–8.

A new Roman milestone from Cornwall.—Mr. R .P. Wright, F.S.A., sends the following note:—A new milestone was discovered in 1942 in ploughing a field for the first time on Mynheer Farm in the parish of Gwennap, about three hundred yards east of Gwennap Pit and about a mile due east of Redruth.[3] The stone was in a perpendicular position with the top a few inches below the surface. It is of granite, 43 in. long, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, with a flat face forming a narrow panel for the inscription.

The lettering is well cut and fills the full width of the flat panel; it reads: IMP | CΛES |ΛNT | GOR|DIΛ|NO | PIO | FEL *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Ant(onio) Gordiano Pio Fel(ici)*. There is no trace of his *praenomen M(arco)* or of his title *Aug(usto)* which would normally follow *Fel(ici)*. It belongs to the reign of Gordian III (A.D. 238–44) and is valuable because it is earlier than any of the four milestones already known from Cornwall,[4] which date to Gallus and Volusian (Trethevey), Postumus (Breage), Constantine the Great (St. Hilary), and Licinius (Tintagel).

There are five other milestones in Britain of Gordian's reign,[5] from Bitterne, Aberavon, Scalesceugh near Carlisle, Lanchester, and Willington (county Durham). The new discovery at Gwennap, coupled with the example from Willington in 1942, seems to suggest extensive work on the provincial roads under Gordian.

The Roman road-system in Cornwall is so little known that it is difficult to place the Gwennap stone in its context. It is not certain that it was in its original position, though it is not likely to have been transported far from its site. The

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[1] *Antiquity*, xii (1938), pl. II following p. 152.

[2] A. Steensberg, *Ancient Harvesting Implements* (Copenhagen, 1943), pp. 30-1; summarized in *Antiquity*, xvii (1943), 196.

[3] O.S. one-inch map, popular ed., sheet 143 (also on 146).

[4] Collingwood, *Antiq. Journ.* iv (1924), 101–12.

[5] *CIL.* vii, 1149; *CIL.* vii, 1159 = *EE.* vii, 1098; *CW*². xvi, 282, 289; *CIL.* vii, 1183 (1184 is an erroneous second version by Huebner, see *Arch. Ael.*⁴ xvi, 257); and *JRS.* xxxiii (1943), 80.

St. Hilary and Breage inscriptions indicate the existence of a route near the south-west coast, while the inscriptions from Tintagel and Trethevey mark some route north of Camelford. Collingwood[1] quotes the existence of a straight track between Hayle and Camborne which may have been Roman. We know that the Romans, in addition to their main military roads, made good use of native trackways which would undergo minor improvements but never be fully en-gineered in the Roman manner. In Cornwall strategic roads are so far wholly unknown, but the development of the tin-mining in the middle of the third century must have called for some inland communication, even if the bulk trans-portation was done by coastwise shipping. Of the five known milestones this is the first one to be found so far inland. Gwennap, however, though situated in the heart of the Redruth tin-mining area, lies too near the backbone of the peninsula to indicate whether the stone belongs to a longitudinal trunk-route[2] linking Cornwall with the rest of the province or a transverse local road connecting the tin-mining area with the sea at Falmouth Bay.

The writer wishes to thank Mr. C. C. James, of Penzance, for kindly sup-plying full details and a photograph.

The distribution of black Tournai fonts.—Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., contri-butes the following:—The well-known series of late twelfth-century fonts from Tournai, richly carved with incidents in the life of St. Nicholas of Myra, scenes from the Book of Genesis, knights fighting with monsters, medallions with symbolic beasts and birds, etc., has received little attention in this country during the past thirty years. The origin of the fonts and analyses of the subjects carved on them have been discussed by the late Dr. G. W. Kitchin, Dean of Winchester, by J. Romilly Allen and F. Bond,[3] and C. H. Eden has fully illustrated and described seven of the eight fonts in England.[4] These writers provide useful but incomplete lists of the fonts abroad, but apparently no map of the distribution has been published. The purpose of this note is to rectify this omission, and to give an analysis of the pattern of the map.

The stone of the fonts is the blue-black Carboniferous limestone (usually called 'black marble') quarried on the banks of the river Scheldt, near Tournai (marked on the map by a diamond). Extensive lists of Tournai fonts abroad are given in the most recent studies, by P. Rolland[5] and G. Pudelko.[6] Correlation of these

[1] *Op. cit.* 109.

[2] Cf. the central ridgeway described by Grundy in *Arch. Journ.* xciii (1941), map facing p. 162.

[3] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* l, 6 and 17; V.C.H. *Hampshire*, ii, 241; F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 203. More recent papers discuss details on the Winchester font: *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, vii, 45 (bishop's mitre), and *Mariner's Mirror*, xii, 211, 346, and xiii, 85, 181 (ship's rudder).

[4] C. H. Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts in England* (1909). The only addition to the decorated fonts in England is a mutilated bowl in the Ipswich Museum. It was found in the filling of the town ditch on the N. side of the town, and so presumably it came from some church in Ipswich. One side is divided into panels occupied by two large animals with heads turned back, and on the adjacent sides are winged monsters with twisted tails. I am indebted to Mr. Guy Maynard for notes and a drawing.

[5] P. Rolland, 'L'expansion tournaisienne aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Art et commerce de la pierre', *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, lxxii (1924), 175–219, with full bibliography; 'Les fonts romans tournaisiens', *La Revue d'Art*, xxvi (1925), 41–50.   [6] G. Pudelko, *Romanische Taufsteine* (1932), 43–53.

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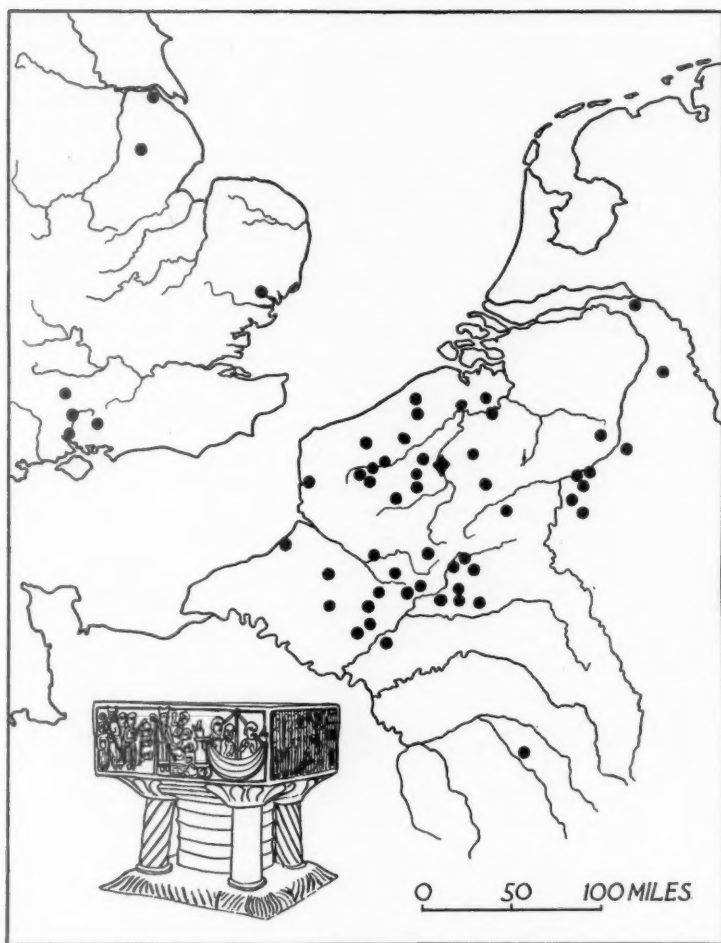
Distribution-map of black Tournai fonts. Inset: font in Winchester Cathedral

and earlier sources gives totals of fifteen fonts in Belgium, thirty-two in NE. France, and two in NW. Germany. Even allowing for the destruction of several fonts in Belgium, it is evident that a large proportion of the fonts carved at Tournai were intended for exportation. The map shows clearly that the distribution of these heavy and bulky fonts was effected by river[1] and sea transport, and the sites are sufficiently numerous to provide a reliable basis for identifying the various routes. The fonts are seen to be in three main groups, each related to the river systems:

[1] Rolland suggests that the main roads radiating from Tournai to Bavay, Boulogne, and Oudenbourg were also responsible for the wide diffusion of the fonts. This contention is not supported by the pattern of the map.

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(1) Group in W. Belgium and extreme NE. France, centred on Tournai. The river Scheldt and its tributary the Lys provided the means of transport.

(2) Group in E. Belgium, near Namur and Liège, bordering the river Maas. The two outliers in Westphalia belong to this group, and both are close to the course of the Maas.

(3) Group in Picardy and the Île-de-France, bordering the river Somme and along the course of the Oise. An isolated font to the south-east of this group, in Champagne, was evidently taken up the Seine.

In England the fonts are at ports on the south and east coasts, and at places inland reached by river.[1] The group of four fonts in Hampshire was imported at Southampton and taken up the Itchen to Winchester and to churches in the diocese. Ipswich was, of course, reached directly by sea. The font in N. Lincolnshire is close to the Humber and indicates the route by which another font reached Lincoln, up the great waterway of the Trent and along the Fossdyke.

Mention may also be made of grave-slabs from the Tournai workshops. Rolland lists a few in Belgium and six in NE. France, the distribution of which accords with that of the fonts. One example even reached Stockholm, and at least five were shipped to England; more intensive search would probably add to the number. Those noted are at Westminster Abbey, Southover church, Lewes, Salisbury Cathedral, Ely Cathedral, and Bridlington Priory.[2] The sites conform with the general coastal and riparian distribution of the fonts.

The Jewish cemetery at Northampton in the thirteenth century.—Mr. A. J. Collins, of the British Museum, sends the following:—Jewish starrs, the evidences of the two centuries of uneasy sojourn which ended in the expulsion of the race from England in 1290, very seldom come to light, and the extant specimens do not much exceed two hundred in the sum. The generality are records of those money-lending transactions to which medieval society wellnigh compelled its Jews to resort for a livelihood—acquittances to Christian debtors and the like. Many were written by the clumsy or hasty hand of the money-lender himself, often on tiny scraps of vellum; all tend to be stereotyped in diction. Recently, thanks to the goodwill of Mr. Trelawney Dayrell-Reed, the British Museum has become possessed of a large and handsome starr (pl. XII), unconcerned with usury, and, it is believed, the only documentary relic of the Jewry of Northampton. Additional Charter 71355—to quote its new mark of reference—tells, in *Latin* and *Hebrew*, all that we are likely to know of the burial-ground of that community during the last half-century of its existence. Both versions (although ostensibly renderings of one another, they present the story in widely different terms) will appear, with translations and such comment as the limited facilities for war-time research permit, in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*. It must suffice to indicate here, without bibliographical details, the salient features.

The Jews recite that a piece of land in which to bury their dead, situated outside the north gate of the town, had been acquired from Prior Guy and the convent of St. Andrew of Northampton at an annual rent of forty pence. 'In

[1] Plain fonts at Boulge, Suffolk (*Antiq. Journ.* iii, 154) and at Iffley, Oxon. (R.C.H.M. *City of Oxford*, 155), are apparently of Tournai or some analogous stone. The inclusion of the Iffley font would extend the distribution well inland up the Thames.

[2] R.C.H.M. *Westminster Abbey*, 78, pl. 202; A. Gardner, *Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture*, 174, figs. 208–9; A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest*, 157, pls. 44–5.

Add. Ch. 71355, British Museum

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the disturbance of the realm of England which occurred in the time of King Henry, son of King John', they continue, that grant or perpetual lease was 'lost'; and a new agreement was made, under which a rent of half a mark was reserved on the cemetery and, in addition, one adjacent house. In consequence, they bind themselves to surrender to the priory the original grant, if found, and to abide by the provisions of its successor. Beneath the *Hebrew* text, committing the community as a whole, stand the signatures of three of its members, Samuel son of Aaron, the 'capellanus' or 'Ḥazzān', Benedict son of Isaac, who seems to have served as scribe, and Samson son of Samson. From the label at the foot once hung the common seal of the Jewry, which, had it remained, would have been unique in its kind.

Since Guy became prior of St. Andrew's in January 1259, it goes without saying that the Jews did not secure their cemetery before that year. Equally certain is it, not only that they were in possession, but also that they lost the original title-deed five years later; for the 'disturbance' of which the *Latin* version speaks was the siege of Northampton by Henry III in April 1264, when, during the occupation of the town by the younger Simon de Montfort and the insurgent barons, the Jews took refuge in the castle. We may safely assume that the second conveyance of the cemetery and Add. Ch. 71355 were prepared at one and the same time, because it was in the immediate future, if ever, that the lost grant would reappear with its challenge to the new (it is unlikely that either bore a date), causing the latter to need the corroboration of our charter. As to the date of Add. Ch. 71355, the Christian witnesses who attested the *Latin* portion included John Spicer, the then mayor of Northampton, and the two bailiffs, William de Blithesworthe and Roger de Arderne. Spicer, it is on record, was mayor in 1271 and 1273, Gilbert (not William) de Blithesworthe and Roger de Arderne being the bailiffs of the former year. The *Hebrew* text also has something relevant to say. By recording that the original grant had been lost 'when our lord King Henry (long may he live) came against the city of Northampton, seized it and threw the city into confusion', it demonstrates that our charter had appeared before Henry's death on 16th November 1272. On this evidence we may reasonably assign Add. Ch. 71355, and with it the second grant of the cemetery, to the year 1271.

Whilst the charter and the various events to which it refers may thus be dated within narrow limits, several problems remain. First this: Was there an earlier Jewish burial-ground at Northampton? In Norman times dead Jews from all over England, from as far afield as Exeter or York, had needs been carried to London for burial, there being no other Jewish cemetery. After 1177, however, it became lawful for the Jews to buy land in which to lay their dead outside the walls of any city. It seems strange that at Northampton they should have delayed until 1259–64 to avail themselves of the concession; for the indications are that by that date the Jewry had become a mere shadow, whereas in 1177 it was a large and affluent body fast approaching its heyday. Yet our charter gives no hint in either the *Latin* or the *Hebrew* of any previous cemetery. The rent likewise sets a nice problem. Originally 40*d.*, it jumped to double that sum—half a mark represented 6*s.* 8*d.*—in 1271. The Jews had, of course, obtained a house in addition to their cemetery. But can any house outside the walls of a provincial town, next door to the graveyard of an infidel and detested race at that, have been worth 40*d.* a year in the thirteenth century? If we regard the rent as inequitable, we must, in view of the circumstances under which the original

grant disappeared, suspect the priory of St. Andrew of sharp practice. Finally, Add. Ch. 71355 itself is something of an enigma. Was it the original handed to the monks, or the counterpart retained by the Jews? Since the document is not an indenture and shows no other sign of having been prepared in duplicate (the word *cyrographum* or other letters of the alphabet cut through the middle would be the most usual), perhaps there never was a counterpart. On the other hand, it is not easy to believe that this deed, which is without any form of endorsement, was once part of the muniments of a great house of religion. Wide possessions, bringing with them, as they did, a host of charters, called for systematic record-keeping to ensure that documents might readily be produced for litigation, that favourite pastime of the religious, and other purposes. The thirteenth century, moreover, was the Golden Age of the monastic archivist, the era of the adoption of press-marks and the compilation of chartularies. By the end of the century the priory of St. Andrew had furnished itself with a chartulary, now Royal MS. 11B. IX in the British Museum; and the endorsements of about the same period on two grants in its favour (they are printed in Professor Stenton's *Facsimiles of Early Charters*, nos. xlviii, xlix: unfortunately the British Museum charters associated with St. Andrew's cannot be examined at present) suggest that the more obviously necessary docketing of the records was also in force. All that can be said with certainty of the antecedents of Add. Ch. 71355 is that, when it was given to Mr. Dayrell-Reed in 1909, it had just been retrieved at a cost of twopence from the barrow of an Edinburgh hawker.

Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler sends the following *errata* and *addenda* to the Report of the Society's Research Committee on *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, 1943.

(*a*) *Errata*

Plate XXVII. In legend, for 'Carrac' read 'Carnac'.

Plate LII. In legend, for 'beyond L' read 'beyond, left'.

Plate CXIX. At 6 in. from foot and 13 in. from left-hand side, 'End of ditch, Phase 2' should read 'End of ditch, Phase 3'. At 5 in. from foot and 11 in. from left-hand side, 'End of ditch, Phase 3' should read 'End of ditch, Phase 4'.

Page 146. In description of Fig. 28, 5th line, for 'neolithic pottery' read 'Neolithic A pottery'.

Page 177. In description of Fig. 45, 3rd and 4th lines, delete 'and two Bronze Age plano-convex knives'.

(*b*) *Addenda*

To the collection of miscellaneous 'Maiden Castles' the following reference to a site near Firuzabad in southern Persia is added without comment:—

'The path crosses and recrosses the river in its serpentine course. About the middle, I saw the first signs of antiquity: a Sassanian castle perched on a salient of the east cliff, and connected by a long wall with a lesser stronghold. These two buildings are known as the *Kala-i-Dukhtar* and *Kala-i-Pisa*. *Kala* means castle, and *Dukhtar* maiden, being the same as our word daughter.' Robert Byron, *The Road to Oxiana* (London, 1937), p. 162.

More doubtfully may be added *Kiz-kurghan*, 'the Princess's Tower', noted by Hsüan-tsang in Chinese Turkestan in the seventh century A.D., and more recently identified by Sir Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (London, 1933), p. 47.

Obituary Notice

EDWARD EARLE DORLING.   Born 1864: Died 26 October 1943

Edward Earle Dorling was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1910 and was a Vice-President from 1921 to 1924. Having been educated at Clare College, Cambridge, he became in 1890 Vicar choral of Sarum, and was Master of the Choristers' school until 1900. From 1900 to 1905 he was Vicar of Burcombe, and from 1905 to 1910 curate of Ham, Surrey, but from this date he ceased to do regular parochial work. His interest in heraldic matters and his exceptional skill as a draughtsman had by this time brought him into notice, and his connexion with the *Victoria County History* dates from the early years of that great and yet unfinished enterprise. Apart from the genealogical volumes, edited by Oswald Barron, an ambitious project which was eventually abandoned, his work in the topographical sections of each county gave him an opportunity, of which he took full advantage, to produce a remarkable series of armorial drawings which not only add greatly to the appearance of the closely printed pages but will long stand as models of how heraldry should be displayed. Stories remain of the almost incredible speed and certainty of his draughtsmanship. Provided with a number of blank shields, he would fill in the charges without preliminary spacing, drawing all details free-hand with pen and ink, and making no more trouble with the crowded shield of Bohun than with the simplicity of Vere. Indeed it is said that he preferred to have half a dozen coats in hand at the same time, to give variety to his labours. When the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England was set np in 1908, another call on Dorling's special knowledge was inevitable. His work as advisor on heraldic matters is acknowledged in every volume from 1912 onwards, and he was eventually appointed a Commissioner in 1929. There was another side to his life, less familiar to Burlington House, but well known to his personal friends. He had a family connexion of long standing with the race-course at Epsom, and those who had from time to time the privilege of being his guests on Derby Day or other classic occasions have reason to remember his lavish hospitality, and what was perhaps still more engaging, his fatherly care of those who under the influence of their surroundings desired to test their intuitions in the matter of probable winners. The habitués of race meetings, he said, were splendid fellows, but nevertheless it was well not to be a mug. Looking back at his various activities, a vein of deep seriousness can be seen through all, and his devotion to his first calling—he was ordained on leaving the University—and his love of beautiful things made him a man of wide sympathies and much understanding. He spent two busy and happy years (1917–19) as Chaplain to the Forces at Richborough in the last war, a post for which he was ideally suited, and in which he came as near to the old phrase—all things to all men—as falls to the lot of any of us. As the last of a trio of heraldic artists—Barron, Kruger-Gray, Dorling—his death seems to end a period: one which marks a notable advance in public appreciation and understanding of the beautiful science to which he devoted his talents.

C. P.

Review

While regional surveys of history may be said to abound in these islands, those of which the scope is truly regional are relatively few, most being confined to small divisions like the shires, which are subdivisions created for administrative convenience rather than broad divisions based upon fundamental differences of stock or history. The author may therefore be congratulated upon the fact that birth, learning, and opportunity have fitted him to describe the development of the Scottish province of Mar which is a region in the true sense of the word: and the issue of the book, as a University publication of the Rhind Lectures, shows that his abilities are widely recognized in Scotland. South of the Border, Dr. Simpson is best known for his studies of medieval castles, a subject in which his knowledge of material extends throughout and beyond the two kingdoms. But, as a good historian, Dr. Simpson realizes the unity of his subject. The medieval Earl of Mar was the Normanized counterpart of the Pictish *mormaer* of Mar, whose territory embraced the Aberdeenshire valleys of Dee and Don. But in this corner of Scotland, hemmed in by mountains and the sea, the Pictish lord was himself the inheritor of the Bronze Age development of a land still earlier penetrated by a few Mesolithic and more numerous Neolithic communities. All these folk, it seems, drew no cultural distinction between upland Mar and coastal Buchan, but they seem to have held aloof from the forest lands of Moray. It was, however, the Bronze Age stock which perpetuated, with notable fixity, the physical type still characteristic of Aberdeenshire; tough men, short and broad in stature, with distinctively round heads—quite different from the long-limbed Caledonians described by Tacitus. The racy and genial Dr. Graham Callender, to whose memory Dr. Simpson does well and bravely to dedicate the book, was just such a one: and his rise from newspaper-boy to Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland typifies the dogged perseverance born of long and patient struggle with climate and soil which has tempered and annealed the local stock.

Dr. Simpson is fully at home with the material upon which these conclusions are based, but he is content to derive his conclusions themselves principally from the authoritative studies of Professor Gordon Childe and others. This is wise, in view of the disjointed state of present knowledge. It appears that the prehistoric immigrants used all the routes by which the province is to be approached. The coastwise southern route was used by the Mesolithic squatters. It was apparently the northern route, from the Western Highlands, that was the line of approach for Neolithic man, while the sea-route from the Dutch coast carried the Bronze Age people. The northern route once more served the Iron Age invaders, who introduced the Halstatt style of pottery, new burial customs, and new arts. The importance of the northern connexion is thus very evident, and is the real clue to the history of the region as a whole.

To the Roman episode, too often viewed in Scotland as a national disgrace rather than a powerful formative influence, Dr. Simpson gives due weight. Here, however, his dependence upon external authority has stood him in less good stead.

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It was unwise to accept so exclusively and rigidly Collingwood's view that the Roman marching-camps of Aberdeenshire, which attest the presence of very large armies north of the Mounth, were no less likely to be Severan than Agricolan. To assign them boldly to Severus may, indeed, be regarded as a healthy reaction against their unqualified ascription to the army of Agricola. But the Agricolan claim cannot be rejected out of hand. It will be borne in mind that Collingwood's doubts as to whether Agricola's army ever penetrated so far north were closely connected with his wholly factitious association of the *Mons Graupius* with the Cathertuns. Nor do they take into account the fact that so slight an advance beyond the Forth fits neither the amphibious operations described by Tacitus nor, as Sir George Macdonald long ago observed, the very detailed knowledge of the coast as far as the Beauly Firth (*Varar aestuarium*) displayed by Ptolemy. Further, the distribution-maps used by Dr. Simpson for the Bronze Age and Iron Age unquestionably define the province of Mar as the thickest area of population and wealth in north-eastern Scotland, both before and after the Roman era. In other words, his district emerges as the centre of gravity north of the Mounth and therefore as the principal object of attack. This once perceived, it becomes virtually unthinkable that the Roman army, having passed beyond the Forth in its sixth year of campaigning under Agricola, should have claimed in the following year to have reached the *finem Britanniae* and yet in fact not to have crossed the Dee. This is not, of course, to say that Severus may not have penetrated in turn equally far: coin-hoards at least suggest his presence in Angus and the Mearns, and his observation of short nights supports, as in the *Agricola*, the penetration of northern latitudes. The distribution maps render it easier to understand how the penetration of Mar would break the resistance of Caledonia, to which it has been either a barbican or a *point d'appui* for attack throughout history.

Dr. Simpson is thus surely correct in assigning to the Roman age the development of hill-fortresses, some of them perched upon peculiarly inaccessible and inhospitable heights. Here, however, two parallels may be of significance. Among the Brigantes, south of Hadrian's Wall, hill-forts of size are of rare occurrence and all reveal, to eye or spade, traces of drastic destruction, as at Carrock Fell, Ingleborough, or Almondbury. North of Hadrian's Wall hill-forts abound, but the high antiquity of their construction is uncertain. At Birrenswark the levelled ramparts and the Roman siege-camps tell of a destruction plainly the work of Rome. But recent work at Traprain Law and elsewhere suggests that the visible defences considerably postdate the Antonine occupation. In Aberdeenshire evidence is lacking. But the *Agricola* has nothing to say of hill-forts or of resistance in them after the battle of *Mons Graupius*; it speaks only of the scorched earth policy of the inhabitants, of deserted habitations and of no concentration of force anywhere. It would thus not be surprising if the habit of building hill-forts in frequency had not reached Aberdeenshire as early as Agricola's day; and their destruction, if carried out by Roman hands, may well have been the work of the army of Severus. To the coherence of the district Roman geography testifies. The tribe, called the *Taezali* or *Taexali*, is tied not only to the river Dee by the place-name *Devana*, but to Kinnaird Head by the name *Taexalum promontorium*. There is thus no doubt that the tribe corresponds to Dr. Simpson's province, though no mention is made of the fact in the book. It is also certain that it had some commerce with Rome, though the most striking object attesting such intercourse, the long-necked and graceful glass bottle from a tumulus at Brackenbraes, Turriff, is omitted from Dr. Simpson's list.

The Pictish dominion which followed the Roman period of conquest is rightly described by Dr. Simpson as a sort of synoecism, comparable with the development of the Alemanni in Germany, though its heptarchy with high king is reminiscent of the Irish style. The treatment contains nothing new on the subject of the symbol-stones which are so remarkable a feature of Pictish civilization, but it is worth emphasis that, if Angus was the centre of the southern Pictish culture, Aberdeenshire contained what was best in the northern. This is attested by the distribution maps of significant objects, and must be given due weight as against the literary evidence, which tends to emphasize Inverness-shire as the centre of gravity. Undoubtedly, as Brøgger has remarked, some immigration from overseas seems demanded to account for the sudden appearance of Pictish art fully fledged. But it must not be forgotten how much of this art is also Celtic in feeling. If the elephant, the serpent, and the curious flowering rods are exotic themes, the mirror and the comb are sufficiently native, and the execution of all the themes everywhere reflects the full, plump curves of north Celtic art. Thus, no large immigration need be postulated: no immigration at all, in the ordinary sense of the word, was required, for example, to flood the same district with equally exotic Anglian motifs at a later stage. The phenomenon is reminiscent of the startling introduction of exotic figures and subjects on the Gundestrup cauldron, and marks the impact of the external world upon an isolated district. On one monument outside the normal series Dr. Simpson has something important to add. He wisely offers no further interpretation of the puzzling Newton Stone, but his robust common sense is usefully applied to the question of lichen and forgery, and the case for forgery is very seriously weakened by his remarks.

The Celtic missionaries are a beautiful if not final example of the contrasting use of the different routes of access for the introduction of new culture. While this review was being written an interesting study of the distribution of certain Celtic dedications has appeared, but its author is unaware of the fact that Dr. Simpson anticipated his line of approach to the problem by several years in respect of the northern saints. His interesting group of Kentigern dedications from the south contrasts remarkably with the northern groups associated with St. Moluag and St. Maelrubha.

Finally, Dr. Simpson plunges with enthusiasm and ability into a subject which he has made peculiarly his own, namely, the medieval castle and church architecture of Mar. Here it must be confessed that in dealing with the churches a series of ground-plans would have been welcome. Nevertheless, by his description and his illustrations of ornamental detail Dr. Simpson succeeds effectively in conveying what a notable development in ecclesiastical architecture had taken place before the wars of independence ruined and impoverished the land. The castle-building also was well established before the outbreak of those wars. It had begun with the erection of mottes of simple Norman type and then with simple ring-walled castles of the kind well seen in the ancient centre of Invernochty. But the great castle of Kildrummy, Alexander II's royal castle, well illustrates the strategic position of Mar, counterbalancing the further Pictish region of Moravia, and serving as the potential basis from which to attack it. Indeed, its erection and its history epitomize the unity and strength of Mar as the cultural and political centre of northern Scotland, rivalled but never surpassed by Moray even in its darkest moments.

I. A. RICHMOND.

Periodical Literature

Antiquity, December 1943:—Dating the Hissar Sequence—the Indian evidence, by Stuart Piggott; La date des Kourganes de Trialeti, by C. F. A. Schaeffer; Grim's Bank, Padworth, Berkshire, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; Harvesting implements in Denmark, by E. Cecil Curwen; Had the Egyptians an Alphabet?, by R. O. Faulkner, and 'Rejoinder' by D. Diringer; War and Ancient Monuments; Wingham Villa, Kent, by A. G. Wells; Trumwine's Diocese, by W. R. Kermack; The Study of Anthropology, by V. Gordon Childe.

The Archaeological Journal, vol. 99:—A Beaker Barrow, enlarged in the Middle Bronze Age, at South Hill, Talbenny, Pembrokeshire, by Sir Cyril Fox; An Imperial Institute of Archaeology as revealed by Roman medallions, by Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee; The oldest extant minutes of a meeting of the Governors of Sherborne School, by J. Fowler; Music of the eighteenth-century village church, by Rev. N. Boston; The development of the meanings of certain Anglo-Saxon terms, by G. B. Grundy; Excavations on the Wrekin, Shropshire, 1939, by Kathleen M. Kenyon; Herstmonceux Castle, by W. Douglas Simpson; The Theatre Royal, Bristol, by J. R. Edwards.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, vol. 22, no. 87:—The Royal Dragoons, 1843, by Rev. P. Sumner; John Crouch, 1821–91, a civilian employee in South Africa's wars, by Major G. Tylden; British operations in the American north-west, 1812–15, by Major G. F. G. Stanley; Foreign regiments in the British Army, 1793–1802. Part IV—The West Indies, by C. T. Atkinson.

Vol. 22, no. 88:—Drum-Major and Pioneer, 66th Foot, 1815, by Rev. P. Sumner; Foreign regiments in the British Army, 1793–1802. Part V—The Mediterranean and Southern Europe, by C. T. Atkinson; John Moodie, military medical writer of the eighteenth century, by Sir P. Cadell; Two officers' jackets of the 27th Foot, 1813 to 1816, by Rev. P. Sumner; The Canadian Militia during the Ancien Régime, by Major G. F. G. Stanley.

The Burlington Magazine, October 1943:—Ancient bronzes in the Royal Palace at Benin, by E. L. R. Meyerowitz.

November 1943:— Hans Holbein (1497/8–1543); The future for Holbein Studies in England, by H. M. Hake; A note on Holbein, by Augustus John; Holbein miniatures, by Carl Winter; Holbein and Henry VIII, by Paul Ganz; Holbein's illustrations to the *Praise of Folly* by Erasmus, by F. Saxl; Holbein and others in a seventh-century collection, by O. Kurz; The engravers on metal after Holbein, by Campbell Dodgson.

December 1943:—Elias Martin in England, by Ragnar Hoppe.

February 1944:—Early aspects of British Archaeology; The contemporary portraits of Amerigo Vespucci, by R. Langton Douglas; Studies among the Torcello Mosaics, ii, by O. Demus.

The Connoisseur, December 1943:—Some armours of the Electors of Saxony and portraits depicting them, by F. H. Cripps-Day; Portrait of a ghost. Mrs. Penn: Edward VII's foster-mother, by F. G. Roe; The evolution of the

cupboard, by R. W. Symonds; Swords of honour, by C. G. E. Bunt; A list of clock and watch makers, supplementary to that given by Britten, by Sir A. Heal.

Folk Lore, vol. 54:—Hagiography and Folklore, by G. H. Doble; Some notes on the nutmeg graters used in folk-medicine, by L. F. Newman.

The Geographical Journal, vol. 102, no. 4:—An unrecorded Blaeu world map of *c.* 1618, by E. Heawood.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 62:—Was the Ionian philosophy scientific?, by F. M. Cornford; Olympichus of Alinda and the Carian expedition of Antigonus Doson, by F. W. Walbank; The Greek inscriptions in the Fitzwilliam Museum, by F. M. Heichelheim; The Ionian Agora, by R. E. Wycherley; The Philinna papyrus, by P. Maas; The Harpy Tomb at Xanthus, by F. J. Tritsch; The progress of Greek epigraphy, 1939–1940, by Marcus N. Tod; The alleged fortifications of Cnossus, by A. W. Lawrence.

History, September 1943:—'Companions of the Conqueror', by Prof. D. Douglas; Class privilege in seventeenth-century England, by Dorothy Ross.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. 19, no. 57:—The Turkish documents in Hakluyt's Voyages, by P. Wittek; The method of handling cargoes of medieval merchant galleys, by A. A. Ruddock.

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Vol. 73, pt. iv:—On graffiti representing ships, on the wall of Moyne Priory, co. Mayo, by R. A. S. Macalister; The town wall of Waterford, by Very Rev. Canon Power; Murrisk Abbey, co. Mayo, and Terryglass Castle, co. Tipperary, by H. G. Leask; Two ringforts submerged by the Poulaphuca Reservoir, by R. A. S. Macalister; Kilteevan, co. Roscommon, by H. G. Leask; The

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday, 28th October 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.
Mr. Basil Megaw and Mr. John Thomas D'Ewart were admitted Fellows.

The President paid a tribute to the memory of Rev. Edward Earle Dorling, former Vice-President, and of Sir Aurel Stein, Gold Medallist in 1935, Fellows signifying their assent by rising in their places.

Mr. Basil Megaw, F.S.A., exhibited finds from a recently discovered house of the ultimate Neolithic Age in the Isle of Man.

Mr. Bernard Rackham, F.S.A., read a paper on Vases: reflections on the status of pottery in Europe.

The President moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

That the Society, having learnt with regret of the retirement of Mr. H. S. Kingsford from the post of Assistant Secretary after 33 years of office, desires to record the Society's warm appreciation of Mr. Kingsford's valuable services; further, that the Society, hearing with regret of Mr. Kingsford's present ill health, asks him to accept the Society's best wishes for his speedy recovery and future happiness.

Thursday, 25th November 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.
Mrs. Rachel Maxwell Hyslop was admitted a Fellow.
Mr. Walter Oakeshott read a paper on the Winchester Bible.

Thursday, 9th December 1943. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.
Mr. Bernard Joseph Wallis and Mr. William James Smith were admitted Fellows.

Professor Tancred Borenius, F.S.A., read a paper on Robert Streater, Sergeant-Painter to Charles II.

Thursday, 13th January 1944. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.
Brigadier R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, Director, read a paper on Archaeology in the War Zone: Facts and Needs. The meeting was then addressed by Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, Mr. A. H. E. Molson, M.P., and Flt.-Lieut. E. C. Norris.

Thursday, 27th January 1944. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.
The President paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Robert Holland-Martin, Treasurer, news of whose death had just been received, the Fellows rising in their places.

The following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1943:—Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, Mr. Arthur Gardner, Mr. E. C. Ouvry, and Mr. E. S. M. Perowne.

Mr. Francis Wormald, F.S.A., read a paper on a liturgical engraving at Idsworth, Hants.

Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, exhibited a table-clock bearing the Mordaunt arms, the property of Mrs. Colville Hyde.

Mr. J. G. Mann, F.S.A., read a paper on a late medieval sword from Northern Ireland.

Thursday, 10th February 1944. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.

Notice was given that, under the provision of Chapter VI, Sections xvi and xviii of the Statutes, the ordinary Meeting on February 24th would be asked to confirm the Council's resolutions that Mr. James G. Mann be elected to the Council to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Treasurer, that Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence be elected Treasurer, and that Mr. James G. Mann be elected Director in the place of Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, who was retiring.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—Col. Sydney Manvers Woolner Meadows, D.S.O., Mr. James Tudor-Craig, Mr. Horace Lee Washington, Mrs. Audrey Williams, Rt. Rev. Paul Fulcrand Delacour de Labilliere, D.D., Dr. Norman Davey, Ph.D., M.Inst.C.E., Lady Fox, Rev. John Todd, Miss Barbara Parker, Mr. Clifford Bax, Mr. John Swarbrick, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. Reginald Hammond Pearson, Dom David Knowles, O.S.B., Litt.D., Capt. Hallam Leonard Movius, Very Rev. Mgr. John Mackintosh Tilney Barton, D.D.

Mr. Norman Smedley exhibited a flint implement from a gravel pit at Rossington, near Doncaster, and Mr. S. Nicholson exhibited an Anglo-Saxon sword hilt from Ingleton, Yorks.

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